

A Discourse vpon
the present state of
France.



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A Dictionnaire

the present state of

France



1783

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*A Discourse vpon the present estate of
Fraunce.*



En say, there is some sport to behold from the shore, the waues to swell, and to marke from the land how the storme and the winds play with the sea, I beleeue it well: as much to say, that better it is to see the danger a farre off, then to be in it. But if from the highest of a coast I should perceauc a shippe wherein I had a part, in which my friends were inelosed, in danger of being cast away & without helpe, caried against the rocks by the courrants and tempest; what a grieve were it vnto mee, to finde my selfe at such a spectacle. If *Fraunce* were nothing vnto me, and I knowing her state as exactlie as I doe, it were no matter vnto me to discourse of it. When men should bring mee newes I would take them indifferentlie, I should receiue them without anie passion, beeing otherwise rather glad to be out of her broiles, to heare talke of her stirrings with as litle commotion and feare, as if one should rehearse vnto me those that happened at *Rome* vnder *Tiberius* or *Nero*. I cannot, beeing a Frenchman, I cannot, seeing the only barke of my hope, the vessell wherein I haue all that which is dearest vnto me, and which it selfe is dearer vnto me

then my selfe, to see it runne on to wreake, to see my countrie, my first mother, whom such sundry maladies haue brought to an extremitie, hardly panting out her last gaspe. But this is out of all order, some part of the griefe passeth away with crying, and such words as sorrow wresteth out of our heart, are more violent then those which ioy bringeth forth. If at anie time in our affliction wee sigh out some extraordinarie words, witness of our griefe, they are more listened to then if they parted from a carelesse minde, slackened by beeing continuallie satisfied, which also bringeth forth no other then vulgar matter. These likewise shall deserue commendation for their matter onely, and not for anie order or methode. Others doo seruice vnto their countrie with their bodies and abilities. They doe well, seeing they may: as for mee, I can but lament mine owne, I bestow onely my teares on her, hauing nothing els left that might stand her in anie stead: I commend them that they doe not blame me: I will do as they doe when I shall be able, and they as I do when they are brought to this passe.

My *Dicaus*, being idle in the countrie where other busineses had lead mee, I heard reported first, that the King was driven out of *Paris* by the Duke of *Guise*. As all matters are made greater, according as men esteeme of them, such was there the first report. Euerie one doeth bring

forth

forth his passion in stead of comments vpon
 such newes as are told him I know not whether
 being infected with this common vice, I did pre-
 sently gloze vpon this report: well doe I remem-
 ber, that euen then I answered vnto some that
 were speaking to me of it, that I could scarce be-
 lieue that the matter was fallen out so rawly, al-
 though I did esteeme the one like able enough
 to be possessed with such feare, yet would I ne-
 uer haue thought such boldnes altogether to
 haue remained in the other. At that time or li-
 tle after, there was two sundrie peeces of worke
 brought vnto me: the one is a declaration of the
 King, vpon that which happened vnto himselfe
 at *Paris*, the 12. of *May*: but that so colde, so ri-
 morous as nothing more; much like vnto a man
 that complaineth, and yet dare not name him of
 whom hee hath been beaten: like vnto a man
 that is affraide least that his enemy be yet in his
 choler, and will not be content with that harme
 which he hath done him alreadie. Hee dare not
 saie that he hath been constrained to flie, neither
 that he hath been driven out, dareth not terme
 it an iniurie, much lesse to declare, that hee will
 take punishment of it. He commandeth no more
 vnto his people; but entreateth him. And to
 make vp the matter, which is the most shamful-
 lest, he willeth prayers to bee made in the Chur-
 ches, to the ende that this quarrell may bee ap-
 peased, euen as if he should feare that Monsieur
 de

de Guize, were offended that he had not suffered himselfe to haue been taken in the Loure, but fled away. The other cleane contrarie, were two letters of the Duke of *Guize*, the one vnto the King, the other publike, both letters of a soldier, brauelones, couragious, whereby hee gallantly commends himselfe of his doing: saith that God did put that day into his hands a mean of a notable peece of seruice, reherſes it with few and stout words, without anie shew of feare, neither thinking to haue done amisse. Last of all, concludeth with a resolute threatening, that in spight of all the worlde, hee will mainteine the Catholikes side, and driue from the King such as do fauour the Heretikes, meaning the Duke of *Ospernon*. My Dicæus, this hath moued mee to send them vnto you; you are curious of such matters: and euen withall, the verie indignation hath drawen from me this discourse of the state of *France*, such as it is now a daies, which maie serue you to iudge better of these two writings. Publish it if you thinke it good, so that you keep in your name and mine, for we are sent for somewhere els. If not, keepe it in your studie.

France is deuided on three sides. The Duke of *Guize* and his kinsmen on that side; as the Dukes of *Maine*, of *Amuall*, of *Olbeuf*, of *Merceur*, his brethren or cosins germaine, to my iudgement hold that which seemeth the greatest, and that is, which with their partakers, they call

call the holie League. The king holds the second, the most lawfull, but the weakest. The king of *Nauarre* and some Catholike Princes of the bloud, My Lords of *Monmorency*, first Officer of the Crowne, of *Turraigne*, of *Chastillon*, and many other noble men, as well of the religion as Catholikes, the third, which may terme it selfe the iustest in deed, as yet the surest. I call the first, the greatest: be it, because there is likelihood that it is deriued, and is a member of all the Catholike Princes of Christendome, which are vnited and confederated altogither vnder the authoritie of the Pope, to make warre against those which make profession of the religion: be it, because this company is new, & nouelties in *France* for a time carry allaway: as for example, the great sway that those of the religion did beare in this same Realme at the first troubles: where they were maisters of the best Townes, sauing one or two; and yet by the yeares end they had not one left. Be it, that it hath been raised vp amongst the Catholikes, which are more in number by a great many, then they of the religion: which though they be not all throughly in euerie point of the League, yet notwithstanding they all agree in this, that they wish the maintaining of their religion, and in this respect, declare themselves to fauour those that haue taken vpon them the defence of it: which causeth this side to seeme indeed at this time the greatest,

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test, although in truth it be not so, nor cā last lōg so.

I said that the Kings was the lawfullest: no man durst bring it in question. As long as according to his owne motions he did rule his people, he onely was obeyed, and so were he yet, if he wold: but this will must come vpon him by times. For if he tarry neuer so little, and that he sheweth, that he suffreth all the world in his realme, not onely to disobey him, but to set vpon him without any danger, hee can neuer recouer his authority. God hath left the meanes in his courage onely. I haue said also that his side is the weakest: It is true. It doth not seeme so, It is so: many reasons are cause of it. The first, who commandeth ouer it, hath so behaued himselfe, as that he maketh knowne, that of the three heads of these sides, it is he that is the feeblest, the fearefullest, that dareth vndertake the least of all, but contrarywise vpon whom men enterprise most safely and easily. He hath so vsed himselfe I say, that there is nothing left which may keepe the hearts of his subiects in obedience, sauing onely the ancient respect which they beare vnto their kinges, and the custome of their realme, which can hardly be altered: most strong meanes they are in truth in a peaceable state, but such as a ciuill warre of foure yeares onely may as easily ouerthrowe, as it hath done in lesse time at *Rome*, and as it hath done euery where else where it chaunced to light on. For it is bread onely of a contempt and disdaine of the Prince, contrarie vnto the respect, and maiestie

iestie. Iudge you now by this what one of thirtie yeares as our is will do. Secondly he is the setting Sunne of his realme, and withall so faint at his going downe, that in his presence hee seeth men to striue both by wryting and by armes, who shall rise after him.

It was a matter of death vnder the *Cæsars* of *Rome*, to talke of that which should fall out after the Emperours death, much lesse durst they name him whom they thought should be the successor. *Tiberius* could say somewhat to it, who after a sowning that he had, lying sicke in his bed in his eldest yeares, was smothered by his heire *Caligula*, a young and flourishing Prince, fearing least that the olde man being come to himselfe should make him away: onely for being saluted by the name of an Emperour whiles they held him for dead; such was their power to keepe their power whole vntill their graue. The *Ottomans* will not suffer their owne children to come neere vnto them, being not able to abide their possibilities. And if neede be to finde an example amongst our selues, of our kinges. It is reported that the mighty *Frauncis* grandfather vnto this, lying weake and sicke in his castle of *Fontainebleau*, where he was once, in the beginning of the moneth of May of that yeare that he died on, his sicknes grew so vpon him, as that he was accounted either dead, or not like to liue much longer. Sodainely all the court came running vnto *Henry* the Daulphin, which because of the same

ielousie of succession, durst not of fixe or seauen
 yeares come neere vnto his father, so that there
 was scarce a man of any account left about the king
 all the world being gone to worshippe this new
 sonne. In the meane while the king hauing recou-
 ered his health for that time, and being somewhat
 eased of his sicknesse, the Ascention day came,
 which is a day very solemnly kept in *Fraunce*. The
 olde Prince rose vp, dressed himselfe, came forth of
 his chamber, hauing painted his haire & his face,
 to hide his age and sicknesse, clothed himselfe with
 apparell of a iolly youth, and in this order came
 forth to the proceSSION, and himselfe carried the
 cannopy vnder the which the *Corpus Domini* did
 rest, vsing these wordes at his returne from it, I will
 scarre them once yet ere I die. It fell out true, the
 matter was altered: for as soone as the newes were
 spread of the kings recouerie, all the courtiours
 came backe againe faire & soft, one after an other,
 well amazed and much troubled, and the Daul-
 phin in his turne remained as well alone as his fa-
 ther had done. That was to be a king, that was to
 cause himselfe to be feared. How many countries
 are there yet in the world, where it is inough for a
 mans life, to inquire who they are that might pre-
 tend any thing to the crowne after the Princes
 death, when the Prince leaues nothing more in
 doubt then the same. Alas, it is not so with our
 king, his faintnesse hath giue leaue to all the world
 not onely to reason of his succession in his pre-
 sence

sence, but vnto some to go about to constraîne him to prouide for it, and to make his will, as if there were nothing behind but onely that he should die. His faintnes and the libertie to offend him, haue brought thinges so farre, that a Frenchman now a daies may as boldly say as a Spaniard, I am not of the kings side: whereas thirtie yeares agoe it hath bene a blasphemie, a parricide. His faintnesse finally is such, that I haue seene, whiles I found my selfe in a strange countrie before a great Prince alied to the crowne of Fraunce, that in talking of our state, one amongst them which discoursing of it vsed these wordes, that our king was not to be reckoned but as a cipher in nūber, which of himselfe is able to do nothing, but being ioyned vnto some one side, giueth more swaye vnto it. I haue seene it, & blush with hartburning for the shame of the nation, notwithstanding that the diuisions of our realme, had carried me thither, for an other purpose then for the particular seruice of it, and that those wordes were not to any disaduantage for the matter that I came about. Thirdly, he cannot assure himselfe of those which he thinketh of his side. Some lost courage because himselfe hath lost it. Some dare not settle themselves about him, seeing hee wandreth himselfe: they dare not set indeede vpon them that make warre against him, seeing that hee suffereth it, and dare scarce complaine of it. By these meanes, all his counsell, all his townes, all his subiects are partialles. And verely I beleue that of all those

which come neere his person, he doth not see one, saving one or two of his creatures, to whom hee may assuredly trust vnto, but that hee hath some other matter in hand then his, or be partaker with some one or other of his enemies. For as soone as a king giueth to vnderstand that hee feareth some body in his realme, that there is some one that may be greater then hee, there is no more maiestie in him, he is no body, all the world runs to the other. If we cannot be free, at lest we will haue but one maister. And if this master hath an other ouer him, presently wee leaue the first to runne to the last: such is the nature of man. As touching the king of *Navarre* his side, the beginning of those warres make sufficient prooffe that it cannot be but the iustest. He defendeth himselfe; his defence standeth with equitie and nature: yet hee doeth defend himselfe after such a sort, that leauing aside all occasions of complaint, he made alwaies a conscience to molest the king (though in the midst of the warre) seeing him to be otherwise busied against those of the League: notwithstanding that he knew well enough, that all those broyles which they had amongst themselves, would all light vpon him. And not this onely, but so often as he was able, he hath offered him his person and his abilitie to helpe him, to recouer his authoritie against the others, vpon condition to submit himselfe afterward to such conditions of peace, as it should please

please his Maiestie to giue him. He hath offered it, and that againe, since these last stirrings, although that a thousand occasions that are passed in all this warre may be a sufficient triall vnto him, not to trust vnto any bodie els then vpon God and his sword. I terme it the surest, vpon good considerations: his person first helpeth verie much: at least his enemies haue done him that good, to teach him to be a Captaine. Surely he is one indeed, able to compare with the greatest that euer were: and if it bee to his cost, hee hath been a new learner more vnto them. His partakers are better settled, looking no farther then on him, being kept in by the duetie of conscience, which doth vnite them together, be it for religion sake, or that they finde themselves farre in, in a iust quarrell. His side beeing most tried, needeth not to feare henceforth any other brunts then they haue sustained alreadie: their enemies can enterprise nothing of new vpon them. And if both the others had been as liuely set vpon by this third, as this third hath been by the two others, they would haue been more amazed then this is. He hath moreover the full right of the naturall succession to the realme, which no speciall one doth striue against. And if so it were, that all *France* were agreed to take the Crowne from him, when it should befall vnto him, yet should hee not haue it, to whom it ought to be giuen in his steed.

Now

Now is it a great aduantage for him to haue no certaine Autagonist, These doubtlesse hopes doe purchase him a number of seruants, they keepe in many others, and in the meane while, the mindes of many which are vnwilling to see their auncient forme of common wealth to bee altered, knowing well enough, that it cannot bee done without violence, they are glad to rest vpon him: who entring by the ordinary gate, needeth not any breach.

Such is the order which is founde this day in the disordered realme of *France*. These are such sides as are there alreadie ruled and framed. Besides these, there are such as haue no framed side; but keepe themselues to one of these three sides, as long as the benefit of their particular busineses doth require it, such as come in crosse waies, and which haue all their fetches for themselues, agreeing with the others for a beginning, but not for an ende. These are the Queene mother vnto the King, the King of *Spaine*, the Dukes of *Lorraine* and *Sauoy*. As for them, to helpe forward the diuisions of our realme, to dispossesse the King of *Nauar*, & the Princes of the bloud, they all agree very well; but in the deuiding, not so. Euerie one would haue it wholly to himselfe, or at least the greatest part.

There are moreouer the Catholike Princes of the house of *Bourbon*, which tarried with the King, who are well on his side, because
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the Religion which onelie hath seuered the king of *Nauarre* from him, doeth not seuer them: but yet such are they as will neuer be brought to that passe, as to consent, that either the house of *Lorraine*, or the house of *Guyse* should be preferred before theirs: and who in this matter will holde with the king of *Nauarre*, as being the side which is of their house. These beare a great swaye in *Fraunce*. For if the king of *Nauarre* were not, the succession of the crown wold fall to one of them, which is also a great let vnto the practises of the Duke of *Guyse*.

With all these confused, and notwithstanding distinguished diuisions, which by our mischises haue gotten a kind of forme and rule, each one of these partakers hath his intent and proceedings. The Duke of *Guyse* with those which being indeede of the league do acknowledge none but him in *France*, his purpose and chiefest scope is, to take holde of the state, either wholly or in some part: such a counsell as by inheritance hath bene ingrafted in their house by the deceased Cardinall of *Lorraine* his vnckle. This Prince the onely autor of our quarrels, had his father and vnckle a couple of notable men. When there grew first a diuision in *Charles* the last his time betweene the Catholikes, and them of the Religion: and when they saw that the deceased Prince of *Condé*, which was of the quarrell, tooke this last part: They which had bene the first stirrers vp of the troubles ran to the other side.

side. And to speake the truth, hee had alreadie pre-
 uailed so farre, as that hee got himselfe to bee the
 chiefe of that side, whose part he had taken, nou-
 rishing in his heart, by the fetches of the Cardi-
 nall his brother, a secreete intent to vsurpe this
 Crowne, either for himselfe or for his. Whereun-
 to he saw the way to laie open for him, the king
 and his brethren being all yoong ones, and chiefly
 by the meanes of the ciuill warre. He died, leauing
 this a childe, after a maner, vnder the tuition of the
 Cardinall his brother, from whom, euen with his
 milke hee did sucke the seedes of this domesticall
 ambition, which were so well receiued by this
 yoong Eagle, that in short time, men might know
 that which was left in him, was bigger then euer
 were his fathers sides. To speake the truth, there
 are many good parts bred in him, fit for great mat-
 ters: and for my part, I haue thought alwaies that
 this mans birth was farall, and as a certaine token
 that God was about to change somewhat in our
 countrie. Hee alone is all the League, the rest of
 his house doo not match him, neither could they
 altogither performe the least part of that which he
 taketh in hand: a great dissembler, verie circum-
 spect, verie wise, beyond anie of his faction: all
 the world sees it by the effects, I haue scene it by
 his writings, and that with his owne hand, in a
 matter of great importance, wherein, if it had not
 been for him, one of his, the chiefe next vn-
 to him was like to haue committed a notable fault.

That

That is his intent and his scope; these are his proceedings, and how he behaues himselfe. His mischief hath been, that comming into the worlde of affaires, there was as yet many children of *France*, and much of his yeares, which were all capable to succede one to an other, to be married and to haue children, which was enough to pull downe his heart. But for all that, beginning to feele his heart, hee was not astonied: but disguising for a while his fetches, it is enough for him to lye at anker, and to place himselfe on the Catholikes side, according to the instructions of his house. Fortune fauoured him. On the other side, hee hath much valour in him; some matters succeed him well. So that by his fathers name and the remembrance of him, hee saw himselfe presently in the midst of the ciuill warres, which the Cardinall his vncke did alwaies kindle of new by some one meane or other, the chiefe of the Catholike faction, procuring chiefly the good liking of such townes, as since the Massacre did remaine verie seditious and troublous, and in feare of a Prince of the religion. Whose Citizens hee made much of with manie familiar curtesies, gentilnesse, and popular behauiours: the first and surest tokens of a minde that aspireth vnto tiranny. The deceased King *Charles* died without issue, this is married, but hee hath none. The more he seeth

the Crowne to want heires in direct line, and that those which are of the Collaterall are come to it; he draweth the neerer, and declareth sufficiently that he claimed a part. Men heare blinde reports, that he is of the right stocke of *Charlemaine*; those of *Valois* of *Capets*, who had vsurped the Crowne of *France* vpon them of his house. So that there was likelihood that he wold scarce tarry until the king were dead which now reigneth, & his brother, which were remaining of the children of *France*, to debate of their succession against the *Collaterals*; but hee would rather prevent them. Now, there was nothing more against him then peace. For, beeing only holden vp by the factious *Catholikes* side, and seditious Townes, hee begun to loose his credit amongst them, except the diuision against those of the religion were stirred vp againe. As it is a most certaine thing that a ciuill warre doth nourish diuers sides in a state, so likewise a long peace bringeth them all to naught, sauing the kings: so that his only remedie was alwaies to trouble all, and driue vs to our ciuill armes, and then to enterprise as occasion did serue. And in deede, from the yeare 1578. he begins to make a league like vnto this last: yet because the king was stil in his full authoritie, *Monsieur* his brother liuing, which kept in to himself a great part of the hearts of *France*; and so by consequent, withdrew as many from this: it was quickly smothered vp,
and

and men were quit of it, for a small light warre against the *Hugonets*, which not long after was appeased. *France* was in quiet for two or three yeares, during the which, it is not to bee thought how many things this troublous, ambitious, and by consequent, couragious minde; did notwithstanding beare withall; hee suffered himselfe to be pulled lower, and snatched at sundry waies, lest hee should bee suspected of that practise, which he during the time of peace, and the absolute authoritie of the king did dissemble so lovingly, that euen of many hee was the worse thought of, which knew not the last fetch of this obstinate patience, a token of a long and deepe practise. At length *Monsieur* the kinges brother, who was a great let vnto him, died. Hee wished him euill for certaine other respects: because whiles that he had certaine practises vpon the state of *France*; hee had already speciall intelligence with the king of *Spaine*, and so did him verie euill turnes in that behalfe. Inso much that I haue heard some say, that if hee had liued, the Duke of *Guise* would haue been on his iacke. At least, it had been hard for him to haue enterprised anie thing during his life. This death, were it by chance, or some practise, came well to passe for him. I say by some practise; because the arraignment and confession of *Salcede* hath kept many in suspence about that matter. As soone as *Monsieur* is dead, no bodie being left stirring but

the king : it seemeth vnto him , that there was a faire occasion which offered it selfe vnto him , to bring his purpose to passe , which his father and his vnclē had begun thirtie yeeres agoe , & which had so hardly been brought on forward. Some beleeue that at that same time, hee had some enterprise against the kings life ; others, that he did only build vpon a vaine hope , and vpon certaine prognostications that were sent him from euerie side, which did assure him that hee should die within a litle while. But so it is, that he cōsidered that it was not necessarie that at the Princes death the state were peaceable ; knowing well enough that a king in *France* dieth not, and that sodeinly an other taketh his roome, who at his comming wold overthrow all the practises that one durst but so much as begin against him. Contrariwise, that it was requisite hee should beare weapons in hand against the heire, euen before the kings death, and be armed with the name and authoritie of the latter king.

According then vnto these fatherly preceptes, and his domesticall meanes , hee began to trouble the realme againe, the yeare 1585. first against the king , because seeing hee could not bring him by perswasion to make warre against the king of *Nawarre*, he must needs constraine him to it perforce: hee vsed this pretence, that the king hath no children, that the Crowne is threatned to fall into the hands of the heretikes. Which sets him
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and all the Catholikes of *France* on alaram; perceiuing withall, that the chiefeft of them of the religion, meaning the king of *Nauarre*, are fauoured, and haue secret intelligences with the chiefeft and neareft vnto the king: which hee faide in the behalfe of the Duke of *Ospernon*, who was newly returned from *Ouienne*, where hee had been with the king of *Nauarre*. Finally, vsing fitlie for his turne that feare which hee had brought his king in, hauing corrupted all his Councell, and all those that were about him, hee causeth warre to bee proclaimed against the king of *Nauarre* and them of the religion, and it is that which lasteth yet on this day. Through the whole course whereof, I thinke that he seeketh nothing els but an occasion to attempt. His fact of *Paris* sheweth it wel. For there is nothing els left behinde but that, thinks he. Now being such open warres against the king of *Nauarre*, with the kings own aduice, consent, and authoritie: it doth not suffice him yet. These are euery daies worke. This is a notable Prince, hath much valour in him, of great abilitie, hath many friends. There is nothing now to be gotten against him, but blowes. As for his person it is safe enough, except it bee attempted vpon or poysoned, which God forbid. As for his Townes, a dozen Realmes of *France* were not enough to take them all. And although so it were that hauing lost all, he should haue nothing left when hee shall bee called
vnto

vnto the reigne, if God will, but onelie his sword, yet were it enough. How many Kings haue there been, which haue been drawn out of prison and Monasteries to be crowned. We haue seene it in our daies. *Charles* the seuenth was crowned, being banished in the mountaines of *Anuergne*. *Lewes* the 12. was after a maner prisoner yet in the great Tower of *Bourges*, when he was proclaimed king. It is not credible by any mans likelihood, that the King of *Navarre* should euer bee brought so low. And yet this is not enough. It is a marueilous point of a lawfull right vnto the succession. These considerations part euen asunder the ambitious braines of this Duke. Hee seeth that hee must not only make the place of the Crowne void; but also himselfe capable to enter and vsurpe it. The one consisteth chiefly in the ouerthrow of the King of *Navarre*: the other, in the increase of his abilitie and credit, which will grow on but slenderly, as long as hee will be content to command ouer the Armies vnder the Kings authoritie, and to make warre himselfe against those of the religion. A thousand things besides this, may happen in such an enterprise, which might bring his matters altogether into misliking, and as I haue said, there is not much to be gotten against those that can vwell defend themselves. On the other side, hee did vwell mistrust that hauing brought the King perforce deepe in this vvarre, they vould likevvise but vnyvillingly finde him the meanes to performe it.

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These things well considered, it sufficeth him to send his brother in *Guyenne* against the king of *Nauarre*, and hee in the meane while sets vpon the king himselfe, with whom, by many bywaies he thinketh to preuaile the more, and to leesse the lesse. His brother the Duke of *Maine* beeing returned from *Guyenne*, where hee had done nothing els, but to encrease the reputation of the king of *Nauarre* and of *Monsieur* of *Turayne*, his Lieutenant Generall, with whom he had chiefly to deale withall: loe, both of them openlie with the rest of their kindred & partakers, set vpon the king, without any giuing ouer of their generall pretence, to make warre against the heretikes, whereupon the holinesse of their weapons was grounded, and by the which they alwaies kept the Catholike side on their owne. Yet to set vpon him, at the first dash, it had been some shame: they cannot doo it without open shew. None of them both is a Prince of the blood, none is so great an Officer of the Crowne, that he might decently take vpon him the reformation of the king & the realme. Without this, their general pretence, standeth them in no vse against him. The king is not a Catholike, hee is superstitious. He hateth not the *Hugonets*; the *Hugonets* are poyson vnto him. Hee thinketh to have sinned, if he speaketh to any of that sort: he goeth that day to confession, he hath put more of them

to death, then the Duke of *Guize* hath seene of them : hee hath done them more harme, then the Duke of *Guize* wisheth them; and with iust occasion they complaine more of him then of any of the league; whose chiefes haue alwaies vsed the particular ones with great fauour and courtesie: such a commendation as cannot bee denied vnto them. What remedie then? As soone as the Duke of *Maine* is returned from *Guyenne*, hee publisheth a writing against the Marshall of *Matignon*, Lieutenant of the King in *Guyenne*, whom the King had giuen him as a fellow in his charge; whom hee accuseth of treason and intelligence with the heretikes, and the King of *Nauarra*: which he saith, to bee the onely occasion that hee could performe no great matter in that iourney: hee accuseth him so closely, as that hee puts in the King withall; of whom hee complaineth, that hee hath cut him short of money, of victuals, of Munitions, and sommarily, that hee had taken from him all the meanes to haue done any thing; euen saying so much, as that hee was the best friend that the heretikes could haue. Vpon that the Duke of *Guize* crieth out on his side, that the onelie thing which withdraweth the King, and maketh him so carelesse in this warre, it is the Duke of *Ospernon*, who fauoureth the King of Na-

NAVARRA

warre his enemye, because of the hatred hee beareth to him. Whilest hee dare not strike the maister, hee striketh the Dogge: he saith, that it is hee that beareth out all the heretikes in *Fraunce*, hee dooth raise vp all the worlde against him: protesteth audaciously that hee will not suffer him to haue anie part, anie Towne, any gouernment in *Fraunce*. And notwithstanding that the Kings Gardes were out of all suspition to bee hereukes, yet because this Lord commaunded ouer them, hee caused them twise or thrise to bee set vpon, and ouerthrowen in *Picardy*; and vnder that pretence hee did seise himselfe of all the Townes hee could, as well in that gouernment, as any where else. The King purposeth to prouide against it, he would gladly keepe his Townes in obedience. To this ende hee did vse such forces as hee had about him, his Gardes, as I haue saide, and the Regiment, of the which the Duke of *Ospernon* is Coronell. Then beholde the quarrell is declared against the King himselfe, and matters grew so farre, as that *Bulloine* is besieged by the Duke of *Amuale*, *Paris* is seised by the Duke of *Guize*, who driued out the Kyng, killed, tooke, and spoyled his Garde, as he himselfe dooth bragge of.

According to his reckoning, whosoever holdeth any Townes or gouernment, which hee

will not keepe to his deuotion, he is presently an heretike. Whosoever will hinder him from being king, he is an heretike. Lo, what new articles of faith we haue. It is reported that the Duke of *Aspernon* hath giuen ouer his gouernments into the kings hands, and amongst the rest, that of *Normandie*, which hath been bestowed vpon *Monsieur of Mompensier*. I maruell whether that will not make him become an heretike, which notwithstanding is a strange matter. So to conclude this matter; the intent of the Duke of *Guize* is to make himselfe king, if hee can: his proceedings and his meanes are the ciuil warres, and the diuision betweene the Frenchmen that are Catholikes, & those of the religion. Whereby he getteth himselfe to be the head of the chiefest, where he hath more credit, then either the king himselfe, or any Prince of the blood, that is a Catholike. And as for this, they must not grudge at it. All that he hopes of his practises, loe here it is; of two things the one. Either he will so fortifie himselfe whilest the king is aliue, and giue such an order vnto his affaires, that after his death, he will ouerthrow the king of *Nauar*, and hinder him from comming into the state, or not. If he cannot hinder him of it, at least hee will bring him to some agreement with him, that he shall alwaies be Protector of the Catholikes side, not without an example. If once hee
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ouerthrow him, and with him all those of his house (that followeth, and the one dependeth of the other.) Either hee shall possesse alone the realme, or hee will diuide it amongst his partakers, keeping notwithstanding the best and the greatest part to himselfe.

To this feast hee inuiteth the king of *Spaine*, the Pope, the Potentates of *Italy*, all the Catholike Princes which are neare about; vnto whom the greatnesse of the realme is as preiudiciall, the kings prosperitie, and the hope of the king of *Nauarre* as fearefull, as the ouerthrow either of the one or the other is beneficiall vnto them. Now the worst that I see in all this practise, is, that hee cannot by any meanes beare with the kings long life. It standeth vpon him to looke to himselfe, and I belecue that if hee had tarried somewhat longer within *Paris* the matter had been dispatched. Howsoever it was, I belecue that that is it which this day troubleth most the one, and scaareth most the other.

Whosoever shall call now to remembrance that he which is king of *France* is the verie same, that wonne battaile beeing 17. or 18. yeares olde, that neuer came in any place without carrying away the victorie; whose valour and reputation from the beginning of his youth, got him a forraine Crowne, a Crowne ouer the most warlike nation of the worlde, hee shall wonder much

when he shall heare, that the only faintnesse, the only mistrust of his strength, which by the impression of an other hath possessed his minde, which sometime was so generose, is the rodde wherewithall God scourgeth our Realme. It must bee said of this Prince, that if his nature hath fallen out in a good time, if hee had had seruants worthie of him, which had loued his highnesse, if they had not from his yoong yeeres made him take affaires in hand with paine, and his eases with ease, which causeth the loathing of the one, and the liking of the other. If since, his estate had not ben ouerthwarted, nor his mind, God had giuen him good partes whereby hee might performe great matters. But the passion of his mother, which was desirous to aduance him, to vse him towards her other sonne, did put him to toile, when he should haue had but sporting in his head; did fill him vp with honour, before he had any stomake to it, made him to loath ambition, before he had any minde to it. Besides that, to speake the truth, if it be lawfull to marke some default in him, this hath been in him, to haue been giuen alwaies to loue his rest & ease. Which is the most common vice not onely vnto Princes, but vnto men. In fine, comming to reigne, hee found the realme full of licentiousnesses, which long ciuill warres bring in, full of partialities, of partakings, full of disobedience:
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hee founde that the chiefeſt noble men of his ſtate, had a particular intent, where they ſhould haue had but the generall one of his ſeruice. Whereto hee gaue no ſmall forwardneſſe by his patience, hauing this euill condition, that if hee found no reſiſting, if he were not croſſed, if hee were at quiet, he did command verie abſolutely, and with great maieltie : but if hee had met with neuer ſo litle difficultie, hee did alwaies preferre a gentle and timorous remedie vnto a hardy and ſeuere one. Whereunto the minde that carried one of his chiefeſt Councellers of affaires, who alſo hath alwaies ruled him, hath helped much to inure him. Hee hath been the firſt king with whom the gouernours of places and holds haue agreed withall, haue asked money to come out of them, I meane not of ſuch only as the ielouſie of ciuill warres had made partiall, but of ſuch ones as had alwaies remained of his ſide. He hath been the firſt king whom me might firſt offed boldly & without feare. For, as for my part, that which an other might terme clemency & meekneſſe in a king, and that which one would commend particularly in this ſame, in that regard that hee did neuer requite greatly ſuch iniuries as many had committed againſt him, yea ſuch as were in his hands. I would terme it, when it doth exceede, a kinde of neglecting, which is preiudiciall vnto a maieltie, and the
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which, if it be not blame worthie in a Prince, at
 lest deserueth no great commendation. Not-
 standing this is to bee granted, that when these
 mischieuous warres begun againe, God had put
 good motions in his heart, taking a way to re-
 dresse altogether his realme, and to ease his peo-
 ple. And if so it were that those of the League
 had done no other harme in *France* then to haue
 interrupted his good intents, they haue heaped
 a great burthen of curses vpon their heads. But
 now to let vs come to the state that he is in now,
 and to his purposes: surely they are most law-
 full. For they tende to nothing els then to main-
 teine his life, & the authoritie which God hath
 giuen him. But hee hath taken a verie euill
 course to bring them to passe, cruell to his
 people, hard to his realme, and daungerous
 to himselfe, as the euent of it dooth sufficiently
 declare. This mightie Prince knoweth as well
 what the Duke of *Guize* aimeth at as any other:
 there is a reason why, seeing it is he that he hath
 chiefly a meaning to, but being euil aduised, he
 hath followed hether to an odde way to with-
 stand it. Of truth hee is to bee excused in some
 respect, hauing not one about him, whose coun-
 sell is not preuented either by desire or by feare,
 neither hauing scarce any bodie for himselfe, but
 himselfe. After then that the Duke of *Guize* had
 armed himselfe, vnder the name of the holie
 League

League, a name alreadie well knowen enough in *France*, they propunded him straight waies a most false *Maxime*, that there was but two sides in the realme, the *Huguonets* and the Catholikes: except hee did rule ouer one of thesetwaine, hee would be left of no side, as they saie. *Betwixt two stooles his taile might go to the ground*. That the weakest was the *Huguonets* side, and so by consequent, it was requisite that he should embrace the Catholikes part, in doing whereof, hee should draw vnto himselfe all that credite that those of *Guize* had alreadie purchased amongst them, which was their vndoing, and his safetie: that to that ende, he must shew himselfe more passionate then any other, and more cruell against the heretikes, & that he should warre against them thoroughly, exceeding all the world in wishing them euill, that by these onelic meanes drawing to himselfe all the Catholike side, and making himselfe the head of it, he might easily ouerthrow those of *Guize*, whom hee feared and hated, and with one worke he might by warre rid himselfe of the *Huguonets*, and their heads to whom hee wished no great good. This was the counsell which was giuen him, which likewise to the great mischiefe of his realme and himselfe, hee hath hitherto followed. God grant that hee may now thinke vpon it, which hath so wrought as that in stead of being chiefe of the Catholikes side, hee hath made himselfe onely the worker of the passions of *Guize*: in so much that also one as the

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other wauered against him, to diminish his credite, and his meanes, he must needes shew himselfe verie busie against the *Hugonots*, and vpon that, euen with notable commissions, notable Edicts, euen with armies; rigorous against men that feare him and respect him, and doo him no harme, but gracious vnto those which eate him vp at his doore. So that assoone as those of the League had shewed him some crosse touch or other: assoone as they begun amongst them some mutiny against him, the king of *Navarre* might be sure that hee would turne it vpon him, and eest-foones send him an Army. Poore blinded Prince, who thought that those men, that gladly wished him dead, did only ground themselves vpon one pretence, and that when they should want the same, by imagination hee should draw from them that which hee durst not trie by force: cursed bee you that gaue him that unhappie counsell. Are you not ashamed traiterous Counsellours? Ought a king to suffer any sides in his state? Ought hee to haue any other then his owne? Is it not a goodly part to bee a king? If you say that these two sides were therein already without anie remedie; oh wretch, who had brought them in it, but euen you that fostered them yet. Is not the Ciuill warre mother of these side takings? take it away, you shall see them flie away. Let a king keepe himselfe within his might, and let him saie
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as a king, I will haue a peace, you shall see that the boldest of these partakers durst not gainsaie it. If warre must needes be done, let it bee against him that would hinder it, and the same shall bee easily ouercome. But notwithstanding, following this *Maxime*, they made him belecue, there was no other way to warrant himselfe, except he himselfe should take vpon him the pretence of those of the League, and that it was necessarie hee should more earnestly in shew, then they set vpon those of the Religion. That the Catholikes were alreadie ioyned with the Duke of *Guize* against the others: that the onlie meanes to disioyne them, was to take his roome, and to thunder against the *Huguenets*. This is his beleefe, and his counsell. In the meane while, besides this persuation, feare came and possessed him: A feare principally grounded vpon a iust mistrust of those that hee had euen about him. Insomuch, that assoone as hee saw the League armed, the gates of *Paris* were scarce sure enough for him, hee went and visited them, himselfe; and whereas only with his looke, hee might haue sent a hundreth foote vnder the ground, all the authours of this mutinie, euen from the first hearing of them; hee is astonied: presentlie hee sendeth his mother vnto them, to persuaade and intreat

them to be quiet, to excuse him if in time of peace he had not made so great account of them as hee should: that henceforth he will satisfie them: let them only aske, and all shall be granted vnto them. To conclude, hee dooth humble himselfe after a manner before his subiects; to keepe them from rising against him, where rather hee should haue made it knowen, that hee was both minded and able withall to punish their rebelling. For all that, his minde was alwaies farre from warre, knowing wisely that it was the empairing of his authoritie and if he feared it against the League, hee was not greatly willing of it against them of the religion. But at length, beeing overcome by his mother, which had other fetches in hand then he had, and almost by all his, hee agreeth at length with the Duke of *Guize*, consenting perforce to the warre against the king of *Navarre*, to whom a moneth before, by thirtie Letters of his owne hand, he had testified his iudgement of the intentes of those of the League. Such hath been the kings counsell vntill this houre.

Now, but that he could haue well wished that the king of *Navarre* had been strong enough to constrain the others, yea himselfe to desire a peace, there is no doubt of it: but that of his owne motion he had propounded it, he neuer durst, and if he had done it, he would haue thought, that out of hand hee should haue been smothered vp by all the seditious ones of the League. His meaning then

then is, to liue, to reigne, and to be obeyed as well of those of the religion, as of those of the League. That is most iust, and reasonable, and should bee if he would : but by the meanes of these pernicious *Maximes*, seeing himselfe calleth his power in doubt, seeing he dareth not plaie the king, he must not thinke it strange, if others take vpon them to imitate him. God grant that at length it may come vpon him to be indeed that which hee is, the master and greatest Lord of his realme : that cannot bee, except he be king : and that will hee neuer be except he resolueth himselfe to wish the good and rest of his people.

As touching the king of *Nauarre*, his condition and his intent, it is cleane contrary or differing from both the others of which I haue spoken euen now. Euen as hee agreeth with the kings purpose in the behalfe of preserving of his life and his authoritie, whereon he neither could, neither wold attempt any thing : so likewise hee differeth from him in that, that concerneth the libertie of the Churches of *France*, for the which he hath warre against himselfe whiles he goeth about to take it away from them. But hee is altogether contrarie and opposite vnto the enterprises of the Duke of *Guize* and the League. First, in respect that the other, to whom ambition giueth the same hope for the Crowne of *France*, which right and nature hath giuen vnto this, cannot put it in practise but by warre, by the subuersion of lawes, and change

of the state of the realme. For if he should stir vp nothing, if euerie thing kept their ordinarie course, he hath no right to it, hee could not bee called to it. This on the other side cannot looke for it but by the meanes of peace, by keeping euerie thing in order; his desire is ordinarie, that in mainteining the lawes, his title is lawfull. And if hee would take an other way by violence or vsurping, hee should finde his Coronell as much stronger and surely settled in this behalfe, ouer that hee is, as hee hath an aduantage in the true succession. In the meane while, besides the right of the realme which looketh on him, hee carrieth moreouer vpon his shoulders the burthen of all the Churches of *France*, hee beareth all their hope vpon his head: his ouerthrow to mans likelihood is their ruine and oppression: his greatnes their libertie. And that is it which encreaseth the power of their enemies, and which lincketh together against him all the Catholikes of *Europe*. Of truth, whiles I thinke now vpon this one, as I did lately vpon the other, mee thinketh that God will exercise vnder these two mightie men our state, the one hauing yet more strength of bodie and minde to preserue it, then the other hath to destroy it. But the other hauing as yet more meanes, by the reason of the opportunitie which hee had, in finding himselfe of the greater side, and to haue had the meanes to vse euen the kings
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authoritie: this will cause mee to make some digression to compare them together, for such are they, as they well deserue to bee added vnto *Plutarkes* parallles, I force my selfe as much as may bee, to iudge of them without affection; although I should in respect of my religion, my side, and infinite other occasions fauour one more then the other: yet I wote not whether this affection doth not robbe me of the libertie of my iudgement. But mee thinketh that this same, howsoeuer the other is worthe, that hee hath many good partes in him whereby hee goeth beyond him. I speake not of their practises, I call them not in question. I doe not onely tell my iudgement of those of the Duke of *Guize*, I condemne them: For I am a *Frenchman*: I speake onely of such qualities as God hath indued them withall, the one to haue them such, the other to oppose him selfe vnto them: I will say then that this same hath all his life through, yea from the beginning of his youth fought against necessitie it selfe, all his businesse hath beene full of it, hee neuer did any thing but with hardinesse; the other contrariwise hath had all to his minde, had alwaies the oportunitie for the first Item of his enterprises, wanted alwaies rather workmanship then worke, rather forme then matter, rather will then meanes. Nothing did assise this, neither did any thing resist the other.

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This maketh me to conclude first, that seeing by these fundrie waies they haue found themselves one as great as the other: the one must needs haue learned more, haue more experience, more courage, more force: the other hath more ambition, more hope, a thing bred in him by the greatnesse of his meanes, and by consequent of more enterprise, & more audacitie. That the one hath lesse shew, lesse vanitie, lesse pompe, and lesse brauerie in his affaires: the other lesse experience, lesse assurance, and lesse soundnesse. Which maketh mee to thinke that whensoever this same shall find him selfe in great aboundance, he shall be better able to vse it, then the other could defend himselfe against necessitie, if euer he were brought to it. I will make no mention of the former warres, where notwithstanding the Duke of *Guize* had Fortunes gifts at will: and this same cleane contrarie hath often tryed what miserie may, yea the extreme: I speake of that which I will now rehearse. If I had seene this great enterpriser set vpon two whole yeares, by eight French armies, which were sent to the refreshing one of another, and ledde in rancke by the best Captaines of *France*, amongst the which I account his brother the duke of *Mayne*: and that at his departure from thence, not onely he had lost nothing, but besides that he had taken seuen or eight good townes, and wunne a great battaile, hauing in his handes no other meanes in the world to build his deedes vpon, but his

his courage alone, as I haue seene happen to the king of *Nauarre*, I wold then thinke that I might compare them together: but euen so farre; there is no reason. Some will say to mee that the Duke of *Guize* hath had many more enterprises and greater ones, and that, that all the king of *Nauarre* could doo it was resist, I acknowledge it. It was an easie matter for the one to enterprise, euerie one fauouring him, difficult to the other to resist, euerie one beeing against him. As the labour, so the glorie ought to be greater. They haue notwithstanding manie humours both like and different, but no small things, no slender ones. Both are of great courage; they had neede of it: both are gentle, curteous, friendly: both are actiue of bodie, vsed to toyle, and comely. But their mindes are much diuers. The one is most honest, franke, open-hearted, freeminded, often impatient, well resolved notwithstanding vpon present occasion, and daungers, so earnest about that which is laide before him, and so bestirring himselfe about the yron that ought to bee strooken whiles it is hotte, that he regardeth lesse what is passed, and what is to come: hee will not conceiue much any farre fetched practises, beeing content with his hope, and referring all vpon it. The other is slye and naught to the vttermost, hidden, close, craftie, patient, euen so farre as to bee blamed for it, as I haue said, dissembling,

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bling, laying downe his platforms of a long hand. For hee must forge his hope to himselfe, looking a loofe of, taking nothing in hand but that he is sure to bring to passe : but I doubt whether being vpon the verie point of danger, if hee should vse to be so sodeinly resolved, seeing hee hath not tried it so often. Howsoeuer the matter goeth they are both worthie men, and of the worthiest that euer *France* did beare, and which had performed the noblest deedes, if a mightie king would haue vsed them, & that his time had suffred it. To come then againe to my saying. As for the king of *Nauarre*, he neither hath, neither ought to haue any practise about the state, his possibilitie dooth store him enough withal, & on the other side, he hath enough to doo to breake those of his enemies : he hath no other end of his warre but peace, and the quietnesse of the realme : but such a peace as to the which he will neuer agree, except the Churches of *France*, and by consequent the strangers if he can, be in libertie. He needeth not debate the right that he hath to the Crowne, it is no time, moreouer, that which is sure, ought not to be called either in doubt or question, much lesse to busie himselfe about the ouerthrow of those of *Guize* and *Lorraine*. He wisheth not these harme, except as much as they wish the Realmes : to the which if they wold be profitable, he acknowledgeth them most sufficient, as particnlar ones. Their degree goeth not so farre as his, as vsing the name of a king. That
name

name keepeth him from thinking vpo theirs. This is his only drift and purpose; if he hath any, it is to defend himselfe, and after such a sort, that hee may constrain his enemies to render vnto *France* her peace, to the king his authoritie, to him and his their libertie. After that, let them of *Guize* enrich and aduance themselues as much as they can; so it be not to the cost of one of these three, it skils him not. The proceeding and the way that he taketh about it, is not certaine; it dependeth vpon the same which the others doo hold against him. If they let him alone, hee stirreth not: if they come to weapons, he runnes to them: if they laie them downe, he dooth the like: that is the reason why the king knoweth in his heart, that when all *France* were agreed, that there should be litle or no difficultie at all with this one, who beeing ledde onely by reason, may alwaies bee brought easilie to it againe.

I haue spoken of the three principall heades which hold the three sides that are in *France*: we are now to marke such as come in crosse waies, what drift & scope they haue, and how they aime at it, and what hope they haue to hit on it. Amongst those, the first is the *Queene* mother vnto the king, the which, for her credits sake, and in shew, keepeth her selfe within her sonnes side, as she did alwaies, when she had many sonnes, hold with him that was king; but which notwithstanding hateth nothing more the his absolute power;

shee was the worse for it. When *France* was in peace, shee was faine to spin her rocke at home, her sonne left her no charge, nor handling of any matter. That shee might recouer her authoritie, she was faine to shuffell the cardes, or haue intelligence with those that shuffeled them; otherwise shee was of no vse; which her minde that could not thinke on smal matters could neuer brook. And of this Princessse whose race hath ruled, & ruleth on this day ouer the best parts of *Europe*, it may be said as it was of *Agrippina*, *Virilibus curis muliebria vitia exuisse*, if that alreadie were not a vice in a woman. It hath been alwaies her custome, to set in *France*, one against an other, that in the meane while shee might rule in these diuisions. The great ones against the great ones, Princes against Princes, yea her owne children against her children. For shee knew well enough that our state standeth so, as that a woman, except it bee by some extraordinary waies, is of no credite in it.

In the time of the deceased king *Charles*, this now was then her protectour, whose power she did increase as much as shee could, to the ende shee might vse him to make her selfe necessarie vnto the other. The king at length perceiued it, but too late. Since that, this now beeing come vnto the Crowne, wherein to speake the truth, she deserued infinitely of him, whiles he was in *Poland*, beeing most sure, except she had wisely
 provided!

provided for it, there had beene such stirrings in
France that by chaunce at his coming home hee
 had beene kept from getting in. She kept her cre-
 dit whole for three or foure yeares, whereas this
 yong king dreamed of nothing els but on the
 pleasures of his yeares, and the deliciousnesse of
 his new estate: but since, beginning to take vpon
 him the Affirmatiue voice, and rule alone, she
 was faine to haue her refuge vnto Monsieur that
 was her yong sonne, who for a while bended her
 his shoulder, and made her to be esteemed necessa-
 ric. He being dead, she found out other meanes:
 for howsoeuer it bee, she hath euer wished two
 things. The one, to make him beholding vnto
 her that might come to the crowne, for to keepe
 him in when he were come to it: The other, to
 make him in the meane while so great, that hee
 that were maister of the State, were forced to vse
 her helpe in holding in the other, employing af-
 ter this maner very quietly both their powers one
 against the other, that betwixt them she might
 rule and be sought to, such a counsell as that par-
 ticularly for her selfe was as full of wisdom as
 often full of troubles and inconueniences for the
 commons. Now, if after Monsieurs death, she
 had found the king of *Navarre* fit for these practi-
 ses, she had made her buckler of him. But seeing
 that the Religion, and many other considerations
 did hinder her, she hath cast both her eyes and her
 hart on the house of *Lorraine*, and her daughters

children, whereunto helped much the hatred that she did beare vnto this Prince, euen from his first youth.

So that esteeming her selfe not able to bee reconciled with him, by consequent. She feareth him, and is fully resolved to hinder him in all that she can from getting anie part in *France*. She can neuer doe it without the ouerthrow of the Realme. For after this hatred cometh in the loue she beareth vnto the children of the Duke of *Lorraine*, which are the daughters children, towards the which she hath a secrete inclination, neuer leauing day nor night to reproch vnto the King, that hee ought rather to loue as his heires, his Nephewes, his Sisters children, then a straunger vnto his house: so doth she terme the king of *Nauarre*.

The daughters of *Spaine* are also her daughters children, vpon the which she would likewise be glad to bestow some part, not being grieued in the meane while that her Sonnes state is in trouble, to the end that hee should haue refuge vnto her, and that she may be employed. Now in this manner she agreeth well with the Duke of *Guize*, to crosse him, to stirre vp, and to open the way vnto confusion, and about the meanes to alter the order of succession in our Realme: but that hee shoulde waxe so great that hee might ouerthrow the King himselfe,
and

and dispossesse him, and hee himselfe afterward inuade the whole state, it is not likely, I cannot likewise belecue that shee witheth it. Now vnder the Queene mothers intent, I comprehend withall, the Marquesse *du Pont*, her little sonne, her daughters sonne, sonne vnto *Monsieur of Lorraine*, who likewise hath nothing to looke for in this our state, but as much as she his grandmother dooth promise him. Next, there is the king of *Spaine*, who seeing from the beginning of these warres, the Queene of England to knit a most straight alliance with the King, seeing in the same time the Commissioners of the low Countries at *Paris*, to offer him the soueraigntie ouer their prouinces, it came in his head to cast three or foure thousande Crownes in the greedie hands of the League, to set *Fraunce* in troubles, beeing sure that by these meanes hee should keepe the king from thinking vpon *Flaunders*. The which hee did feare aboue all; as indeede, there is but the onelie king of *Fraunce*, so hee bee in peace, that can easily take these Prouinces from the Spanyard. This is that which brought him in, and by consequent, that which hath somewhat ouerhastened the Dukes of *Guizes* deuises. Besides that, he feareth now extremely, lest that the king of *Nauarre* come to the Crowne of *Fraunce*, hee is his enemy by nature: he.

he keepeth a kingdome from him, the which, no doubt if the clawes may grow on to the other, will be pulled from him, and more bychances withall. Hee knoweth well enough, that hee being olde, his children yoong, his state diuided and euill settled, small matters after his death will trouble it: much more a king of *Nauarre*, if hee were king of *France*. Therefore hee is glad to frame himselfe vnto those of *Lorraine*, to finde them meanes to stirre vp matters, that in the meane while hee may more freely go about his warres of the low countrie, and of England, to hinder the king of *France*, and ouerthrow the king of *Nauarre*: to the ende that afterward the realm being as for a pray, he being the mightiest, might rauish away the greater part. This is his drift as concerning our state: but that it should go so farre, that after many speciall charges, he would yet draw his treasours dry, to make the Duke of *Guize* king; he I say, that is perswaded if so it were, that the maner of succeeding must needes be altered, his daughters nieces vnto the king, ought to haue the better part, there is no likelihood of it. And that, that I saie of the king of *Spaine*, may likewise bee said of the Duke of *Sauoy* his sonne in law, which is of much lesse power, & hath no other deuises then his fathers in law. So these are all those that either do good or euill vnto *France*. These are her good or bad humours, these are the prosperous or contrarie

windes

windes which tosse her vp and downe. And of their discords & passions as diuers as they themselves, as differing and contrarie as they are, dependeth her good or euill chance. Mightie Empire; the glorie of *Europe*; to the which the course of a 1200.yeaes could bring nothing but encrease, her enemies nothing but glorie; it was necessary after so many victories, thou shouldest ende with thy owne hands, that thou shouldest yeeld vnder thine owne force, seeing destiny had prouided no Conquerour ouer thee.

But leauing of this maner of speech, which rather prouoketh mee to weepe then to write; seeing that the diuision of religion dooth serue for a pretence in the alteration of our Realme, and by consequent to his destruction, if God suffer it so, this euill beeing almost common to all the states of *Europe*, I will somewhat slip aside to speak some thing of the generall affaires of Christendome, in the behalfe of these two sides, the one holding yet the authoritie of the Pope, the other hauing cast it off. I will not entreate of this as a Diuine. I know verie well, that God commonly trieth his by afflictions, as beeing that which keepeth men in their duetie, and which maketh them to haue their refuge vnto him whom they thinke but little vpon whiles their neck is swollen vp with prosperitie. I know well that the sonne of God speaketh plainlie in these wordes: *My kingdome is not of this worlde,*
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shewing

shewing euidently to the true Christians, that is not heere they ought to seeke their eases, and though they finde themselues afflicted, yet must they mistrust of their quarrell, as if God should detest them, and were purposed to roote them out from the face of the earth. In stead whereof, cleane contrarie they see the Turkes; the Heathens, the poore blinded ones in the Popes superstitions, that they haue all at will: they conquer realmes, Countries; finde them veines of Gold which neuer drie vp, their Armies prosper euery where. Their lucke maketh that they can find men which to doo them seruice will attempt vpon Princes liues, that are their enemies, euen in the midst of their Gardes.

Finallie, they scarce haue yet wished, when G O D suffereth them to see their desire fulfilled. Where cleane contrariwise hee hath laide such a necessitie vpon his true seruantes, to take his Crosse vpon their shoulders if they will followe him, to passe through the straight Gate, and to susteine all their whole life, according vnto him, in griefe, in affliction, and in necessitie.

According to these rules and tokens, which cannot bee applied to anie other, then vnto them that make profession of the true reformed Religion, it should suffice me to conclude, that those which God afflicteth after this sort, they
are

are his true children, whom hee will afflict; but not vtterlie cast away, hee will chastice, but not punish: whom hee vsed as his children that offended him, in dooing otherwise then hee commaunded them, and not as seruantes that haue robbed him. And after such a manner, that, although through all Christendome the greatest Potentates of the worlde bee confederated, vnited, and ioyned together against them; it is all in vaine. God will neuer suffer that which is his to be cast away; they are his: hee will well dippe them two or three fingers in the water: but euen then hee will stretch out his arme of deliuerance to pull them out of the gulfhe: and that coulde I, besides the indubitable trueth of that promise which hee made vnto his, prooue by the course of thinges that are passed in the Church since the foundation of the world.

But as I haue saide, my purpose is not to reason like a Diuine. It suffiseth mee that wee haue not onely that supernaturall power of God to rest vpon, a Target of prooffe to defende vs withall, against the which, all the dartes of the worlde turne their pointes backwardes: yet euen in the world it selfe, and of the store of humain means he hath giuen vs, without

comparison more then to our enemies : so that if wee suffer, if they afflict vs, it is but our fault, and that wee cannot helpe our selues with that power that hee hath giuen vs. All Christendome which is vnder the Popes obedience, is now a dayes ioyned together to roote out those of the religion. Who are those wicked ones, let vs iudge of their power, and whether it be so great as that wee neede to feare it. It is the Pope, it is the Emperour, it is the King of *Spaine*, there be certaine Potentates of *Italy*, In *Fraunce*, are the Duke of *Guise* and those that are of his house, making the King and the Realme to serue their turne as they list, vsing for their purpose the King and the Realme as they list. In *Heluetia* there are certaine Cantons: In *Germany*, certaine Princes. I haue named all, and by the most glorious names that I could : there are Popes, Emperours, Kings, and numbers of Princes. They say that all these terrours of the worlde are gathered together to this purpose onelie, to make an end of those which make profession of the true religion. I would haue it, let it bee so. The more enemies, the greater glorie. But let vs marke them a litle nearer, we shall finde that all these men haue some particular intent which they keepe to themselves, and that to mainteine their vnitie, they all agree onely in the generall. What intents? let vs specially consider

sider of them. The Popes is manifest : *Luther*, *Zuynghius*, and *Caluin*, haue made him loose the two partes of his reuenues : the third part is in great daunger; they labour about it. Hee would both recouer that which hee hath lost, if it were possible, and assure against hereafter, that which hee holdeth. The whole realme of England is slipped out of his hands: if the king of *Spaine* could plant there againe the Catholike Religion : it were so much gotten againe for him. *Fraunce* hath neuer shewed him any great obedience, the Church of *Fraunce* had alwaies her Priuiledges by her selfe : yet is it nothing, thinketh hee, in respect of that it should bee, if euer the king of *Nauarre* come to bee king of it. Hee feareth least he should come ouer the Alpes, hee is of the race of *Bourbon*, fatall vnto *Rome*: besides that hee is alreadie egged on against the Pope, for his kingdome of *Nauarre*, which most vniustly they haue passed ouer vnto the kinges of *Castile*. Moreouer, hee feareth lest that a mightie Prince like to the same, bring one daie a great reformation in the Church: which cannot be done without the great empairing of the Sea; which notwithstanding will be as easie vnto him, as it was to *Philip* the faire, and many other kinges of *Fraunce*, enemies to the vsurpings of the Popes. So, his cheefest interest is to cut this Prince short of his

possibilitie. Of his side hee thundreth, hee stormeth, he anathematizeth, he declareth him an heretike, a rebell, finally, not capable of the Crowne of *Fraunce*, as though it should belong vnto him to take it away, or to giue it. That hee may execute this Bull which indeed alone could do but litle against the bulwarkes of *Roche*, if that bee the worse: hee armeth all Christendome, euen to the Cardinall of *Bourbon*, to whom he sendeth a holied sword, from the stocke of Saint *Pauls* his owne, he promiseth money to those of *Guize*: hee promiseth, but hee sendeth not, hauing not paid yet that that his Popedome costeth him, according to the Romish stile.

To conclude, as it belongeth to him hee worketh miracles with his Crosier staffe, and that is his taske and his drift, to animate all the world against the Heretikes, amongst the which hee accompted the Queene of England, and the king of *Nauarre* his principall enemies to his thinking, whose ouerthrowe hee looketh for, by the meanes of this vniuersall League. As much occasion hath hee to complaine of the high and low Germaine as of *France*, and Englande: hee thinketh then, that after that the Kyng of *Spayne* and those of *Guize* shall haue chasticed, that is to saie, vsurped *Fraunce*, and Englande, in driuyng out the Heretickes, that is the right and lawfull

full Princes, and lawfull Lordes, after that they shall haue brought vnder the low countries, they may without any gaineſaying ioyne their forces with the Emperors, to conſtraine either by friendſhip or by force, the Princes of *Germany* which are Proteſtants, to come againe vnder the yoke of his obedience: that after that, being no great likelihood that the *Heluetians* would greatly obſtinate themſelues againſt ſuch great forces, ſeeing their Cantons are alreadie deuided, they altogether might eaſily aſſiſt the Duke of *Sauoy*, to recouer *Genena*, and to ſacke that towne which they call the ſpring and fountaine of all Heretikes of Chriſtiandom. It is there that he determineth the end of his deſire, and of his holy Leagues enterpriſe. Which I haue ſcene written by Pope *Sixtus* himſelfe, in a letter intercepted about the beginning of theſe troubles in *France*, ſent from *Italie* into *Spaine*. And as for this one, this is his pretence, this is his intent grounded vpon that generall hatred which hee beareth to the Heretikes, but eſpeciallie vnto the King of *Navarre*, and the Queene of England, of whome hee hath receiued harme inough alreadie, and is afraide to receiue more.

The King of *Spaine* hath three particular ends to himſelfe, for the which he wiſheth this generall League. The firſt to bring to an ende the warres of the low countries which are held
by

by those which he calleth Heretikes, and against the Queene of England, which is likewise of them. The second, the desire which hee hath by inheritance to ioine *France* vnto his dominions: which he thinketh he may now doe more easily, in respect of the right that belongeth vnto him by the meanes of his wife, daughter of *Fraunce*, and of his daughters gotten betwixt them, for as for him. he thinketh not that the Salicke law, the credit of our kings was made for him. The last, the ouerthrow of the king of *Nauarre*, whom he purposeth whatsoeuer it costeth him, to remoue as much as he can possibly from the Crowne, for many reasons that he hath to feare this great enemie, whom God keepeth for to be one day the destruction of his house. For the benefit of these three purposes, he is come in, and hath much solicited this generall league, which strengthened him his title of warre against England, of enimitie against the king of *Nauarre*, giueth him the meanes to enterprise vnder hand vpon the state of *Fraunce* whilest he fauoureth the affaires of the Duke of *Guize* his partner, with whom, except it were for this he could haue no intelligence with him of any vse: by his meanes, in *France* he doth hope to vndoo the King of *Nauarre*, he doth hope to vse the hauens of *Picardy*, and *Normandie* against England, and the low countries: being sure inough afterwarde, that the King of *France* being deade, his lawfull successor dispossessed, the realme being

being as a pray, hee shall be able easily to deuide their part vnto those of *Lorraine*, being stronger then they: and after this manner it is to bee seene, that for his particular benefit and purpose, hee maketh this notable generall league to serue his turne, euen as though it had beene onely made for his domesticall affaires.

The Emperor would gladly, that all the other Princes of Christendom which are of the religion, were ouerthrowne, to the end, that the whole bodie of the League came to set him free from the 'Protestants which are his neighbours: but because it is yet a long peece of worke, and that it were not good for him to bestirre himselfe, much lesse he should raise vp those mightie Princes which are stronger then himselfe: hee rusheth not farre in amongst them, no further then the other Princes of *Germaine*.

I haue discoursed inough of the Dukes of *Guizes* intent and purpose, which is to make him selfe alone King of *France*, if it be possible, or at least of the better part: such a purpose as willingly admitteth no fellow, and for the which a man will not lightly labour for another. Which I marke onely, to shew that, to helpe himselfe in *France* by the meanes of *Spaine* to the furtherance of his enterprise, to helpe him selfe to recouer his low countries, to see the Queene of England to whom hee wisheth euen death it selfe, whom likewise hee knoweth to bee the onely stay

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of his enimie, quite ouerthrowne, hee will haue notable intelligence with the king of *Spaine*: but but to yeelde him wholly the Crowne of *France* to hold it of him with homage, if hee bee able to vsurpe it, to giue him ouer the better parte: I belieue he will not. In the meane while these pretences being grounded vpon nothing els then vpon the diuision of religion, hee must bee acknowledged as one of the chiefeft pillars of this holy League. The Princes of *Italy* haue no other purpose at all then their owne preseruing, being enclosed of one side by the Pope, on the other by the *Venetians*, on the third side, by the king of *Spaine*, being besides deuided, and their States so small, that they haue small leasure to thinke of any other matter then to maintain them selues, and for this reason onely are they come into the League. But they are not such good Catholikes, but that they feare more the encrease of the house of *Spaine*, then the decay of their religion.

The Duke of *Sauoy* is also comprehended in this generall Vnion: so long as his father in law shall liue, he will haue the same enterprises that he hath: if he dyeth, he will haue others as I shall shew anone, which altogether synpatheise with those of the League. The Duke of *Lorraine* likewise, when euery body shal come to reape the fruit of his labour, and the interest of his charges, his conclusions will not agree with the Duke of *Guizes*.

Guizes propositions. The Cantons of *Helvetia* are not to my iudgement entred in this League, because of the Alliance which they haue with our king, and the bonde that knitteth them together in their Countrey. Notwithstanding I doubt not, but that for money they will finde forces not generally vnto the League, but particularly to the Duke of *Guyze*, yet haue they often made some difficultie of it.

Of purpose haue I shewed the intent of each partaker of the League, to prooue that which I haue saide, that euerie one of them had some particular ones, disagreeing one from an other, to the ende that thereby I might shew, that whatsoeuer good meaning soeuer they had one with an other, it were verie easie for vs to haue a better one. All with one course will I seeke out, what are their meanes, and their forces in the which I hope to finde so manie wants in respect of that which is in our hands, that wee would be ashamed to suffer our selues to bee beaten. I will beginne with the weakest. I holde the Emperour and the Catholike Princes of *Germany* of that number. For although they bee of great power, yet the Protestants their neighbours are of so much force, as euerie man dooth knowe, to witte, the king of *Denmarke*. The Electours *Palatin*, of *Saxe*, and of *Brandenbourg*, the Landgraue

of *Hessia*, and many other great Princes and Lordes; that if they would, the other durst not seeme to haue enterprised any thing at all. I haue shewed which are the forces of the Cātons of *Helitia*, and how the Generall League may haue vse of them. As for the Princes of *Italy*, and the Duke of *Sauoy* as our nearest neighbour, and so the most to bee feared of them all. But first, that which may come from amongst him, it is but a small matter of his forces: next, he rather reſteth vpon ſure poſſibilities, then vpon vncertaine ones. His father in law is old; at his death he hopeth to get ſomewhat, and doo thinke that he will rather caſt his eye vpon the ſtates of *Milaine* and *Naples*; if the ſucceſſion of *Spaine* bee diuided, as there is great likelihood, that the daughters which are ambitious to the vttermoſt, and are brought in already by the father himſelfe to the handling of affaires, and almoſt in full poſſeſſion of his kingdomes, that they will be content to be married for a peece of money, & leaue ſuch great riches vnto their litle yoong brother, ſickly, and as they ſay, an Idiot: ſo that, me thinketh this Duke hath worke enough cut out, needing not to buſie himſelfe much about enterpriſing any thing on this ſide of the Mounts, which encloſe him in. On the other ſide beyond them, he can doo ſo litle though he would, and hee findeth himſelfe in a Countrey ſo full of diſadvantage, that beeing of one ſide kept in by the *Germanes*,

maines, on the other by the *Helmetians*, on the other by the Frenchmen, and all sides by the Alpes, such forces as hee could raise out of his Countrey, which can bee but verie small, they cannot be carried to any place, where they may performe any thing without great losse and difficultie. As for his money, to make good cheare at home hee hath enough: but to make a great warre, not so. The other Princes of *Italy*, as the Dukes of *Ferrare*, of *Mantoue*, and of *Florence*, of *Vrbis*, which are almost the chiefest, they all added to, for to encrease their rolle, and to saie: Loe what a number here is, and not for any other matter. If there were any warre in *Italy*, it fell betwixt two mightie Princes, such as were *Charles* of *Spaine*, and *Frauncis* of *Fraunce*, they might further him much indeede, whom they would assist. If there must be an Army made vp against the Turke, each one of them shall well be able to set forth a Galley or twaine, and that is all: but that they may do much in a great war, either against vs in *Fraunce*, or in England, or in *Germany*, or in *Flaunders*, not so. Besides that, as I haue noted, they will neuer bee so farre of the League, but that they will feare more the encrease of *Spaine*, then the decreasing of *Rome*. The Duke of *Parma*, as farre as hee is Duke of *Parma*, may be of the number of them, but in respect of that he commandeth ouer the forces of the king of *Spaine* in the low Countries, surely

he is a great Captaine, without doubt hee hath
 great reputation, great credite, bee it amongst
 the Armies which hee commandeth ouer, bee it
 amongst the Countries where he maketh warre,
 yea, a credite by inheritance, the remembrance
 of his mothers gouernment, beeing most agree-
 able amongst them. But withall, he were but litle
 wise, as well as the Duke of *Sauoy*, if hee had not
 certaine purposes to himselfe, and if hee would
 sticke more to vaine possibilities then to certaine
 ones. For my part I belecue, that hee purposeth
 not to haue laboured all this while in *Flaunders*
 for an other. Now there is a point in this matter.
 This is it, that as long as he shal make there war,
 as Lieutenant of the king of *Spaine*, he may doo
 much harme : but if once hee take the way to
 make himselfe Lord of it, as he may easily, of that
 which hee holdeth, after the good mans death,
 seeing he can only performe it by gentle meanes,
 and the good will of the people, he is not to be
 feared any more, hee must needs withdraw
 himselfe out of the League. As for the Duke
 of *Lorraine*, hee is a great Lorde, but a pet-
 tie small Prince : take away from before his
 eyes, the hope of possibilities, which they made
 him conceiue in *France* for his sonne, which
 onely hath brought him in, with the League :
 hee will eftsoones take the side of his owne qui-
 etnesse, and not seeke any quarrell. He is verie
 wise : and belecue that our stirrings in *France*
 come

come not from. Notwithstanding there is no doubt but that hee employeth himselfe in this generall matter against vs : but by these meanes there is this good helpe I thinke , that as long as hee shall hinder the growing vp of the Duke of *Guize* his cosin , as hee must needes do, for his sonnes sake, he dooth vs more good, then otherwise he could do vs harme: now he hindreth him in respect of the crown; the which at length, agreeing and hauing some vnderstanding with the *Queene* mother vnto the king, his mother in law, he will rather demand for his sonne then for the other. And I hold it for a most true *Maxime*, that the Duke of *Guize* our capitall aduersarie, is alreadie so farre in, that he must needes either be king, or vndone altogether : there is no meane for him betweene these two extremities. *Marius, Cinna, Pompey, Lepidus, Anthony* make prooffe of this. Alsoone as a man hath aspired vnto Tiranny , *Aut Caesar, aut nihil*. I haue spoken heretofore of his meanes : they are indeed great enough in *France*, because the side of the Catholikes is great , amongst the which hee is of great credit, and that, being his chiefe strength, that the king will put vp all his bolde dooings. But as for him, I doubt not , but that as his particular purpose tendeth vpon our state, so , if he had in his Chestes the Ducates of *Indies*, he would make a breach, & then much harme vnto the others. But hee is extreeme poore, and indetted,

indetted, the next token of a man that commonly aspireth vnto nouelties. Besides that, he hath too many that stand against his purposes, not onely of his enemies, as the king of *Nanarre*, and the Princes of the bloud : but of his owne friends, as the heires of *Spaine*, of *Lorraine*, and of *Sauoy*, and those of his owne house, which doo pretend as much right to the vsurping of our Crowne as he dooth, and to the which, seeing he must needs vse them for his turne as hee dooth, he must needs likewise giue them some part of his praie, if he can praie vpon any thing: which will cause him infinite gelousies, so that all the power mee thinketh, of this Partner, can stretch no farther then to the dissipation and dismembring of our realme : yet shall hee be faine to haue helpe. For, that he should make warre either against the *Germanes*, or the *Englishmen*, he will hardly doo it, or at least it will neuer be, before hee hath made an ende of his matters in *Fraunce*, which is a long peece of worke. And vpon that I will obserue a most true thing of our nation : I meane, that such is our nature, that we will well vnder a king that is alreadie established diuide our selues, we will make ciuill warres, and vproares : but if there were neuer a one, if there were neede to prouide for the Crowne, we wold neuer suffer the tearing asunder of it. And if a Prince dooth not finde himselfe able to possesse it wholly, he would hardly be suffered to diuide it,

it, except he were a mightie Prince neare vnto it, as the king of *Spaine*, which by his strength, and by the meanes of his Countries, should hold the part that he had ketched vp; yet were it hard for him. Finally, I will vse but two reasons to shew that this mans power, is no such great matter. The one, that in the beginning of the league, whē his fire was most kindled, that men thought then that at a word of his mouth, all *France* wold take vp their weapons, he neuer found himselfe accompanied with a thousande Horsemen of Frenchmen, and foure thousand footemen at the most: yet all that vanished away in a moneth, notwithstanding, that he had largely spent all the money which he receiued out of *Spaine*, and of his owne to gather them. The other, that beeing since in the warre, a small Army of Reysters, consisting of foure thousand five hundreth Horsemen, and of three or foure thousand Lansquenets, with a fewe Suitzers, did passe in spight of him through his gouernment, euen to the verie hart of *France*: did beate him, and beate him againe in their passage, as often as they saw him: notwithstanding, that he had called neare vnto him all his friends, all his partakers, and all his forces: notwithstanding, that he had besides all this, the best part of the kings: notwithstanding that a yeare before, he had boasted, that he wold fight with the *Germanes* euen to the *Rhynes* side, and that it stood much for his credit to haue

done so. But yet without doubt, if men should suffer this Chiefe of a side, to grow, and except God had put a bridle about him, hee is the greatest, the ablest, and the most dangerous enemy, that such states as make profession of the religion can haue.

There is behinde two of the worst: to wit, the Pope, and the king of *Spaine*. The first is the brawlingest, the most seditious of all, and yet the weakest notwithstanding. It is a common thing, *Acutum reddere qui possit ferrum exors ipse secandi*. To speake the truth, he serueth for nothing else but to edge tooles. The Popes they cannot tell an houre before they are, whether they shall be Pope. Before they come to that, they are most commonly small Cardinals *Italiens*, for gelousie keepeth the greatest from it, which during his Cardinalship, had no farther practises then to deale with some benefice or Ecclesiasticall liuing.

Those that can stir vp matters, are not lightly preferred; *Italy* hath fared the worse for it. Last of all, none came by it, without paying well for it: and they are all such good husbands as that they leaue as little as they can to their successour: insomuch that the new made Pope hath enough to doo for the three or foure first yeares to paie those which haue solde him his See, and afterward to liue. And it is an extraordinary thing when they passe nine or tenne yeares:

yeares: else straightwaies they say; *Exijt sermo inter fratres, quod discipulus iste non moritur.* For they are verie olde when they are chosen: so that ere they can do any harme, they are carried to their grane. And as for him, as long as there shall bee no other, wee neede not to feare anie thing else then Bulles and leade, which doo harme to none but to those that are affraied of it. The king of *Spaines* gold were well to be feared more, and I haue kept for the last, the greatest of all, and the first moner, which maketh all the others to mone. But hee of his side hath likewise manie discomforties which binde him his hands; and of this one, because all *Europe* ringeth of his name, we must saie somewhat more.

This Prince is sonne to *Charles* the fift, that great troubler of the world, who hath tossed all so much vp and downe as long as hee hath been in it, who was happier in it by the meanes of his Lieutenants then by himselfe, who had either for his friendes or for his foes at sundrie times all the Princes of his time, a mighty Prince notwithstanding, vigilant, a warriour, if euer there were any labourers in the warres: in conclusion full of curtesie & humanitie, and such a one as was worthy of the name of *Cesar*, worthy of the Empire. This same was brought vp in affaires by his father, euen from his cradle: yet was he much more happy thā he, & his luck cōsisteth

in this, that as long as his yeares could encourage him to great matters, he neuer met with any that crossed him. His father had at one time the great *Frauncis* of *Fraunce*, the great *Henry* in England, *Solyman* in the East part, and Princes in *Germany*, which exercised his wits enogh. So that on what side soeuer he turned himselfe, he found businesse enough. Besides that, he found all the Countries rounde about him, as strong, and as like to set vpon him, as hee vpon them. That was it, that made his fortune so diuers. Contrariwise, *Phillip* now a dayes king of *Spayne*, hath been fauoured with such lucke as he was neuer interrupted. But that is more to be attributed, to that which fell out about him, then to himselfe. *Fraunce* in his time hath been ruled by a woman, and by children, or so toyled by ciuill warres, that they haue alwaies founde worke enough within themselues. Englande likewise ruled by a woman, which following the nature of her kinde, hath wisely contented her selfe with mainteining her subiects in peace, and keeping her selfe from her neighbours attempts, not attempting any thing vpon them. *Germany* by peaceable Princes. The East parts by *Selim* a great drunkard, who tooke pleasure in nothing but his drinke, and since by *Amorat* his sonne, halfe an Idiotte, which stirreth not from the *Mosquetta*. So that we must not say, that he had good lucke euerie where, but that
 he

he found no where any bodie that might cause him any euill lucke: yet for all that, he hath performed no great matters. The conquest of *Portugall* and of *India*, hath been more easie then luckie, there was no great labour. The conquest of *Tercyera*, and the victorie ouer the Frenchmen shall not seeme so straunge, if it be considered that it was a complished Army of *Spaine*, against a company of Ships gathered in *France*. As for the battailes of *Graueline*, and of Saint *Quintin*, they were yet remnants of his fathers victories, they were Armies that from their youth had followed the olde mans fortune, there was but little of his, his person it selfe was not there. Nothing did stirre in *Italy*, in *Burgundy*, in the kingdome of *Naples*, in *Sycilia* nothing; where otherwise in *Affrica* hee hath lost *Gouleta*, the onely labour of *Charles* his father, and all that hee hath there. His victories are not gone so farre in *Flaunders*, but that there is more behinde. The reason why? because hee hath founde there some resisting. It is an easie matter for a man to winne, when no bodie playeth against him. Now, euen now, hauing gotten enemies worthie of his forces, wee shall see what hee can doo in *Englande* with all his great preparations; wee shall see whether he shall keepe still that renowned great fortune. Now, the state that hee findeth himselfe

selfe in at this time, is such. First hee is extremely olde, and yet more broken. He hath but two daughters, and a yoong boye: they great ones, ambitious alreadie, and proud to the vttermost: the one the Duchesse of *Sauoy*, the other brought vp in her fathers armes, and in the affaires of his state, the which she alone gouerneth: his sonne is litle and sickly, as I haue said: now are these occasions of diuisions. For in *Spaine* the daughters may succcede. Besides that, his state is much diuided. The low Countries which were his best mesle, are farre scattered from him. All that which is cut off from him, as the Prouinces which are vnited with the Queene of Englande, hee can see no hope to recouer it all. That which the Prince of *Parma* holdeth vnder his authoritie, he scarce assureth himselfe, that after his death hee will faithfully surrender it vnto his children. The other is a braue Prince, a great Captaine, beloved of those ouer whom he commandeth, esteemed of the others as I haue said, who hath vsed great moderation, and kept much his faith to his people, which are alreadie highly pleased and his keeping of that manner of gouerning, which his mother had vsed before him; who hath purchased great credit amongst them, and that enough, to make him able to keepe this portion in stead of *Portugall*, which to his iudgement the king of *Spaine* hath taken from him: and
 who

who howsoever it be, will be griued that all his labours should be dedicated to a maide, or to a litle boy. The Duchie of *Mylan* is neare vnto the Duke of *Sauoy*: this same will pretend right vnto it, in the behalfe of his wife, and acording to his contract of mariage? The kingdome of *Naples*, and the townes of *Italie* will follow the fortune of the Duchie of *Mylan*. *Portingall* is as yet scarce sure to him: the *Portingalles* impatientes that *Spaniards* rule ouer them, as much the more their enemies as they are neare vnto them, as it is an ordinarie thing to all people. The *Indies* as well the *Portingalles* as the *Spanish ones*, the onely sinnew of this State, will belong vnto him that shall possesse either *Portingall* or *Spaine*. This standing so, this Prince hath henceforth more neede to thinke vpon the preseruatiō of his house, and his Lordships, which doubtlesse are like to bee deuided after his death, then to trouble his neighbours. To speake the truth, hee is rich: but hee is at infinite charges, scarce hauing anie countrie where he is not forced to keepe a great garrison. That hee standeth in neede, hee maketh it knowne inough to the troupes which hee keepeth in *Flanders*, where hee is sometimes a yeare or eightene monethes without giuing them a pennie. As hee is rich of money, so hee is poore of men: hee can gather none but onely out of *Germany*, out of *Spaine*, out of *Italie*
out

out of *Burgundy*. But now marke his weakenes. For as touching the *Germanes*, if we were all v-nited together, we would keepe him either from raising vp any, or that one should passe. As for the *Italians* & the *Spaniards*, wherof he can furnish no great number, for they are no populous countries, as euery man knoweth. Ere they can come to deale eithers with *France*, or the low countries, or *Germanie*, hee must leade them either by sea, or through such hard waies, that if wee were all of one minde, he should loose halfe of them before they were able to doe him any seruice. The *Spaniards* can not come but onely by sea, or ouer the mounts *Pyrenees*, the *Italians* onely ouer the *Alpes*, or through *Germany*, such waies, as if wee would, we might stoppe them all. Last of all, there is nothing more wretched then himselfe in his owne countrie, nothing more easie to bee beaten. And it is most sure that he might easily haue beene ouerthrowne by *Portingall*, if he had beene liuely set vpon that way, since *Dom Antonio* was driuen out of it. Thus haue you briefly the state which the mightiest of our enemies is in. which to my iudgement, being well considered, ought not to seeme so mightie, as is esteemed. The effects withall and the example declare it: Seeing that since twentie yeares, that he laboureth to conquere *Flanders* againe, the onely place where hee hath employed all his power, hee hath got no great matter: yet it may not be saide that he hath found there

there any resisting woorthie of him : notwithstanding it is plaine enough, that if it had not been for Monsieurs which is now deceased, euil rule, and the Princes of *Oranges* death, most wretchedly murthered, a manifest token of this enemies weakenes, he was almost drinen to dispaire, and had lost without all these Countries, without any remission, whatsoeuer hee could haue done.

When our enemies state shall thus be considered one by one, it shall be found true according to the common saying, *That all is not golde that glistereth*. But if they be yet besides obserued by the whole, it wil serue well to giue that iudgement which I giue, of them. They shall bee founde all seuered of places and Countries. The greatest part, and the strongest is in *Spaine*, and *Italy* : there is betweene them foure hundred Leagues of way by land : the other is in *France*, but it is such a small thing, that if the meanes of *Spaine* and *Italy* should not ioyne together to helpe it, it would be soone smothered vp. We shall see that each one of these partakers, which enter into this generall League, doo not bring the least part of their wishes vnto the generall intent, all the rest beeing for their owne particular. Wee shall finde that the most of them tende all to the same thing: the king of *Spaine*, the Dukes of *Lorraine*, of *Sauoy*, of *Guize*, to the Crowne of *France*. Wherein, it can-

not choosc but that there is gelousie, and that the same which vniteth them, seuereth them. We shall see also, that they haue contrary purposes one to another, as those which I haue obserued of the Duke of *Parma*, & the Duke of *Savoy*. And in fine, we shall marke that the two last ones are as it were the pillars of this League, the king of *Spainne*, and the Pope; the one is extreme olde, and so sicke, that euen this yeare hee hath giuen ouer all maner of businesse, euen so farre, that manie are of opinion that age hath taken his senses from him. The other which is the Pope, can make no reckoning of his meanes, but so long as hee shall liue; now, considering his age, hee cannot liue long, leauing by chaunce such a successeur that will rather busie himselfe to make vp his house, then to pull downe an other mans; that will rather deuise new practises, then follow his Predecessours. Now haue you then by whole and pieteemeale all our enemies forces. Now if against their generall meanes we set ours generally, if wee gather together those of the Queene of Englande, of the king of *Nauarre*, of the king of *Denmarke*, of the Princes of *Germany*, of the States of the low countries, of the Cantons of *Heluetia*, what a power shall wee finde? If likewise wee haue the vse of them, and of the commoditie wee haue, toioyne our selues without any let, *France*, *England*,

land, *Germany*, high & low, & *Helvetia*, and they
 being almost close one to another, shall wee
 not sooner overthrow all their practises, then they
 can take them in hand? We I saie whom our
 religion may knit surer together then they can
 be, being better then theirs: wee that haue no o-
 ther fetch to defend & mainteine our rights, which
 vnited vs together: which haue no particular intet
 that might bridle any gelousie amongst vs, which
 being contrary might diuide vs: There is no doubt
 of it: let vs make prooffe of it. It is three yeares a-
 gone, since the king of *Spaine* cut downe all the
 Forests of *Italy* to build great Ships, *Carragues*; he
 buyeth all the Moores of *Affrica*, to make Gal-
 ley Slaues; turneth the *Indies* vpside downe, with
 digging and seeking to finde out all the Gold-
 mines; as though hee should neede none of them
 afterward. It is three yeares agoe since that
 hee talked of nothing else but of Ankers, of
 Cables, of ropes and sailes: since hee threateneth
 the Ocean, if it dooth not vse his shippes gently:
 since that he chargeth the windes to fauour them;
 and all that to make vp a mightie and Spanish,
 that is to saie, a proude Army by sea, whose sha-
 dow alone, may cause not onely the masts of ships
 to stoupe, but also all the toppes of the steeple of
 Englands. Since these three yeares he is bigge
 with an Armie. And to speake the trueth, as
 these great peeces of woorke are not soone
 brought forth nor with ease, so hee bestoweth

much time and labour to bee deliuered of it : but things commonly are lesser at their birth then men thinke of, it is like then to be borne at length in *Biscay*, to bee weaned at Conquer, and to finde it selfe right against England, and tall enough to receiue the order of knighthood. Doth not this declare, that in one place alone, that onely in England wee are able to resist the most dangerous of our enemies ? It is three yeares since hee threatneth it, hee hath not yet so much as made it afraied ; Tush, when will hee hurt it. It is as long since the Duke of *Guize*, who in a maner maketh his sport of the kings meanes and the Realmes of *Fraunce*, being helped with money out of *Spaine*, with the forces of the Prince of *Parma*, and of all the Catholike States, maketh warre against the king of *Navarre*, during that time there hath been eight Armies by land leuied to that purpose, and the ninthe by seas. Of nine of them thanks bee to God, eight are gone backe againe without dooing anie thing, the ninth, hath been quite ouerthrowen in a battaile. Now, if it cannot bee saide that this poore Prince was in the meane while, assisted either with one penny or one man, the money and helpes which his friends had sent him, beeing not yet come as farre as vnto him : is it not a certaine prooffe that this people hath more facing then doings. It is twentie yeares since that the low Countries are set vpon by the same king of *Spaine*, with all the forces that he could make out of his Country.

they, out of *Italy*, and all those that hee could get
 out of *Germany*. Hee hath been alwaies fortunate
 in it. All the fighting that there hath been, he hath
 almost wonne alwaies. What hath he done. They
 yet at this day in such a case, as if they can once
 haue a good meaning one with an other, hee is to
 begin of new, and in danger of loosing his labour,
 his paines, and his charges that he hath laid out in
 that Countrey. Iudge you now, if so it were that
 the king of *Denmarke*, the Princes of *Germany*, and
 the Cantons of the *Switzers*, which they durst not
 hitherto meddle withall, had brought their helpes
 and forces to make these violent dealings of the
 king of *Spaine* in *Flanders* & in *England* to cease,
 and those of *Guize* in *Fraunce*: how long to mans
 iudgement, were they able to stand before vs. I
 leaue more to conclude vpon that, then I speake
 of. In the meane while, although wee haue more
 forces then they, that we haue better meanes to vn-
 derstand well one an other, notwithstanding all
 that, they vnderstand one an other better then wee
 doo, and are stronger then we are. Let reproach,
 that vnto our negligence, and not attribute it vnto
 their industry: to our base minde, and not to their
 courage. God hath giuen vs into our hands, wher-
 withall we might liue at rest and defend our selues
 from their Tyranny; and whereby withall, wee
 might bring them vnder the yoke, if wee would.
 But to make an ende of this speech Diuine like,
 euen as I haue begun it, I belecue that it is the same:

K 3 God,

God, the same Lorde, which will not haue vs to hold our deliuerance from our selues, neither from our arme, but from him alone.

Mee thinketh that my minde is now eased much, whilst that after hauing runne ouer all *Europe*, which is altogether almost troubled and afflicted with diuisions of religion, I returne vnto *France*, which I thought onely to haue been plagued with this euill. It is not it onely that God visiteth: it is not it onely which is threatened; other partes haue their part. I come then to her againe more satisfied then I was, to conclude this discourse which I began for her sake. This visard, this vaile, which had bleared vp first the kings eyes, and after him all the Frenchmens, is at length pulled away. When the League begunne first, three yeares agoe, there were men yet that were either so without shame, or without sense, as that they excused this rebelling, they shadowed it with a zeale of religion, with a care, least that after a good Catholike king, there should succede him a Huguonet. This serued the Traitors turne that were about the Prince, whom they knew so dedicated and passionate towards his owne religion; that euen with this worde they stopped his mouth, they tooke away fro him all maner of replying, all the meanes that he might vse to iudge what he had to do about this matter. But now, I doo not thinke that there is any bodie in all the realme, nay not the veriest *Iesuite* that wold excuse the Duke of *Guizes* attempt at *Paris*, against his owne king.

What a maner of one it hath been. I desire no o-
 ther discourſe then his owne, the very ſame which
 he hath publiſhed. Now if one ſhould aſke mee
 what, to my mind wil folow vpon that he ſhould
 giue me a hard peece of worke. I haue ſaid ſome-
 where els, nothing was more dangerous for
 a king, then the empairing of his Maieſtie; that
 there is nothing which empaireth it more, thē if
 he ſhew, that he feareth ſome body in his realme:
 it is a kind of fear, to ſuffer boldnes, & not puniſh
 it. Yet whē it is but a commō boldnes, which cō-
 cern particular ones, the cloke of gentle clemen-
 cy ſometimes doth excuſe timidity: but if it be
 towards the Prince himſelf, if it doth violate the
 holy reſpect which is to be had to the ſacred per-
 ſon of the king: whoſeuer ſuffreth them, is no
 king. If this ynexcusable treachery be pardoned,
 if the king letteth ſlip vnder ſilence, it may bewel-
 ſaid, *Sceleris finem putat, graduſeſt*. And there is
 no doubt, but that, within theſe two yeares there
 wil be ſuch bold & villanous parts committed, as
 that this ſhalbe counted but for a light trick of
 youth. I am of the reformed religion, thanks be
 to God, who hath vouchſafed me to haue made
 me ſuch an one: me I ſay, who through the for-
 getfulneſſe of his great benefits, had made my ſelf
 altogether unworthy of this latter one, nor to
 bee compared with anie other: notwithſtan-
 ding if ſo is were that the King ſhould thinke
 that the King of Navarre and wee with him,
 had attempted ſuch treacherous and deteſtable
 practiſes

practises against his life, & against his state, that
 with good conscience he might not pardon vs
 all, God forbid, that vnder pretence of this quar-
 rell I would counsell him to call vs to him, to
 put vp our offences, and to vse vs for to bring
 him out of those troubles, that he is put in dai-
 ly by his owne folkes: but not as a Frenchman,
 not as a Christian, but as a man, I dare well
 counsell him. What counsel, nay prophecy, that
 if this argument of the wrath of God vpon him,
 dooth not stir him vp to wish his owne good, and
 with his own good, the quietnesse of his realme,
 the way of peace, the meanes to becoine a king,
 to take away all side takings out of his realme,
 except his owne, and as there is none that the
 Scepter belongeth to but himselfe, and not to
 suffer it to bee broken in peeces, and euerie one
 most vnworthily to carry away a shew of it, him-
 selfe beeing the first, and most true cause of his
 mischief, let him be assured, that in stead of ta-
 king it away from him, God will encrease it dou-
 ble fold vnto him. I will not speake yet of those
 of the League. That which others doo through
 wickednes, we doo it by necessitie; yet not with-
 standing, as is a like for him in regarde of his
 Crowne, it is as well spoyled, and pulled asun-
 der by the one as by the other; his people as much
 troden downe by vs as by the League. And ex-
 cept it were that wee defend our selues, they set
 vpon; that we are pursued, they pursue; that we
 submit

submit alwaies our selues vnto him, the others would submit him vnto them: it might bee well said, that the harme which we doo perforce vnto his realme, is as great as that which they doo for their pleasure, and to satisfie their ambition. For this euill, alas, there is but one remedie: let him onely take vpon him to remedie it, hee shall be a peaceable and absolute king, obeyed, feared, beloued, dreadfull, so hee will doo it. But what doo wee make wishes that God should put the power in his hands, except first he hath the will in his hart? Mightie Prince, that thou shouldest not belecue thy selfe! thou hast neuer a one of these Counsellours so true. I haue heard thee sometimes blame the king of *Portugals* fault, who aduentured all his state vpon one battaile; as iudging wisely that there is nothing more miserable then a disherited Prince. Oh? where hauest thou laide vp thy wisdom? thou ventur-est thy selfe vpon lesse a hundreth times then a battaile. Who could persuaade thee, that these people which hath no other desire then thy death, no other scope then thy Crowne, wil laie downe their weapons which they haue vowed against thee onely, seeing thee bitterly bent against those of the religion, and doing them all the euill that may be? No no, thou must giue it ouer, else thou shouldest neuer haue peace with them: & I belecue if thou couldest giue it ouer without thy life with all, thou hast enough a-

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bout thee that are such brasen faces, as to coun-
 sell thee it. They haue driuen thee out of *Paris*
 which neuer the Englishmen, the Spaniards, the
 Germanes haue done vnto thy great grandfa-
 thers; and by thy patents thou showest vnto thy
 people, that in stead of reuenging thy selfe of it,
 it seemeth vnto thee verie long, ere they haue
 pardoned thee. Thou commandest that they
 shoulde pray God for this reconciling; there is
 then belike no other daunger to lift vp his hand
 against his King. Now doe I belieue verily that
 hee that durst to day make thee fly, will dare
 to kill thee to morrow. But is not that mightie
 king so venturous himselfe, as for to show vnto
 his subiects, that it is such an easie matter to at-
 tempt against thee, when in stead of reuenging
 thy selfe, thou prayest that those may bee pacified,
 whom thou shouldest haue punished? Who
 could so mischieuously perswade thee, that the
 remedie of thy euil, was the ciuil warre? that by
 that course, thou shouldest recouer thine autho-
 ritie ouer thy subiects. Alas! how art thou de-
 ceiued? There is nothing more dangerous in a
 building then fire; in bodie, then a continuall feuer:
 in a State, then a ciuil warre. If thou wilt reme-
 die these euils, quench the fire which burneth thy
 house: aswage the continuall feuer of your
 States bodie, giue it a peace. For it is the one-
 ly meane to preserue your Realme. Thou
 sayest

sayest that if thou shouldest but pronounce this worde of peace with them of the religion, thou shouldest haue presently vpon it all the armies of Christendom that are Catholikes against thee, which will spoile thee of thy state. Yea if thou pronouncest it according vnto him that lately did flye away from *Paris*, before the Duke of *Guize*. Pronounce it like vnto him that wunne the battailes of *Iarnar* and *Moncontour*, and who alone was more dreadful then all the rest of thine armie: vtter it onely after that sorte, and thou shalt finde all to tremble.

If vpon this good and holie resolution, thou wilt arme thy selfe, *England*, *Germany*, and *Suysserland* will couer all thy plaines ouer with horse and armed men, for thy seruice. They will send thee sufficient forces to beate *Spaine* and *Italy*, and thy *France*, though it were ioyned with them. Thinke first that it is the good of thy Realme, and it will bee easie afterwarde to perswade it vnto thy people, when thy selfe shalt belieue it; and if thy people belieue it once and thou willing of it, hee will holde then for thine enemies and his, all such as shall wish the contrarie. But thou fearest the League: Who then shall bee hardie for thee: of whom shall wee take courage but of thine. Graunt a reasonable peace and quietnesse vnto thy subiects, beginne with thine owne first: with the

Catholikes, make them to be content with reason, & feare not then but the rest will be brought to it: they are too weake to stand against thee in an euill cause. It will be such a one, if they refuse an indifferent peace. But they will not doo so; they neuer haue done it. It is too common a Prouerbe in your Court. Let them be pleased with a Sermon. Thou art yet afraied, of whom good Lord? of the king of *Spaine*. Shew him the pictures of thy Father, and thy Graundfather, and hee will tremble euen to the farthest of *Castilia*. Of the Pope? hast thou not yet about thee some heires of *Charles of Burbon*? they are but toyes. How can it bee possible, that thou who hast seene so much, who hast handled so many matters, who hast so great experiēce, canst haue this apprehension engraued so deepe, and vpon so small an occasion? Beleeue two *Maximes*: the one, that thy enemies haue their best friends of thee; the other, that if it were not for that blacke cloude which thou seest about *Rochell*, which they feare more then thee, they would haue buried thee long ago: but yet adde this third one, and beleeue it, that whensoever thou shalt earnestly wish the good and rest of thine Estate, it shall lye in thy power to be maister, to bring as well the one as the other so farre vnder, in respect of thy obedience, and thy place, that they shall not be able to turne an Egge, without thy leaue. They persuaade thee that the strongest
side,

side, is the Catholikes, and that thou must needs assure thy selfe verie farre in this one, and make thy selfe the chiefe of it, to take away this title from the Duke of *Guize*. They persuaide thee but they deceiue thee. The parties ought not to receiue thee, neither thou to go vnto them. They ought to come to thee, and thou to receiue them. To bee a king, is thy part; thou hast no neede of any other: let all the rest yeeld vnto this. What meaneth this? that a king of *Fraunce* should enter into gelousie with a Duke of *Guize*, that he should be put in danger of loosing his credit by his meanes. Dooest thou not know that this gelousie make thee equall? and presently of being equall, inferiour? There may be steppes to clime vp to a Crowne, but there is none to come downe: it is a downe right fall. If a king come neuer so litle lower, he falleth downe. They counsell thee to faine thy selfe sore angred against vs, after thou hast feigned a while, thou becommest so in earnest. They yet deceiue thee more, and if it were not thy passion towards thy religion, thou mightest iudge easily of it. Assure thy self that this Duke which becommeth so mightie in thy realme, keepeth to no other ende the best part of that which he hath with him, but onely because it is to thy selfe that he hath a meaning to. Dooest thou thinke that those which serue him haue no other scope then the destruction of the *Hugonets*? No, no. What is there to be gotten against them? If I had giuen my selfe ouer to follow him, for my

part I would thinke to haue done it, in respect of his possibilitie to be king one day. For that, hee should be thought well of in respect of his zeale towards his Catholike Religion, in putting many Huguonets to death, that will serue to raise vp all the Porters of *Paris*, and make them crie: *Haue amongst the Huguonets*. Those which are sufficient to helpe him to turne vp a Realme, they haue other considerations then that. Now these considerations are not put out of their heades, by thy fierce countenance against those of the Religion, and thy trembling lookes towards the League. This is cleane contrariwise, for to encrease them, their helpes, their seruants, and their authoritie. When men see, that thou shewest, that thou art thy selfe afraide of them: who then shall not feare them? What emboldeneth men, but impunitie? Of nature we loue to be at libertie. There was neuer any Realme but that it did strue to become, if it were possible, a popular estate. There is nothing that a Prince ought to keepe more narrowly then his respect of his Maiestie, and his feare, which beeing once lost, can neuer be recouered, but onely by such thinges as breed feare, that is to saie, by violence and crueltie. Mightie King, thou shalt accept this speeche as it shall please thee: it belongeth not to me to limitate thy purpose. But if thou readeest it with as much passion for thine owne good, as

I write it, thou shalt thinke, if any too violent
 a word dooth escape mee; yea against thee, that
 it is the verie indignation and hart-bursting that
 forceth me vnto it, seeing the wrong and iniu-
 ries which are done vnto thee: to the which it
 seemeth after a maner, thou dost consent by thy
 patience. Doo not thinke that I did meane to ac-
 cuse the courage which is in thy selfe: all *Europe*
 would giue mee the lie: and if thou wouldest
 haue any witnessles of it, thou shouldest neede
 none but our selues, whom thou hast beaten
 so often, to speake of it. Verely belecue, that
 the griefe which I conceiue to see thee suffer
 through euill counsaile, those bold parts which
 are onely attempted vpon confidence that thou
 wilt suffer them, draw me then out of my hart
 and my penne. I know that all those which are
 about thee, haue hitherto betraied thee, that,
 that which thou hast done against thy selfe,
 thou hast done it vsing that course, whereby
 cleane contrariwise. Princes erre moste com-
 monly, by belecuing counsaile: I was present
 there, when it was tolde thee, that all thy
 Townes, all thy people, all thy Prouinces
 were alreadie the Dukes of *Guise*, all thy men
 were his. They tolde thee it; but none other
 then themselves tolde thee it, which were
 belonging vnto him: and they did tell thee it
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of the League which are against thee, haue been in thy Court, in thy Counsell, in thy priuy Chamber. So that it was verie hard but that thou shouldest be hindered by so many things contrarie to thy good purposes. But seeing that God in this last danger wherein hee had brought thee, hath taken away all excuse, and occasion of doubt; let this at least giue thee a mind to loue thine own selfe more then thou hast done it. To will earnestly thy owne good, thy rest, thy highnesse: and when thou shalt wish it, thou shalt by consequent, wish thy realmes withall. I will ende by thee, thou firebrand of the warre, which hast turned to the destruction of thy king and thy Countrey, those great graces which God had giuen thee for to haue been able to haue done worthie seruice as well to the one as the other. Dooft thou not thinke to bee punished one day for the parricide which thou committest against thine owne mother, for so many euils that thou art cause of, or which thou dooest thy selfe to her, who hath done thee so much good: so many euils I saie, against the which thou mightest haue remedied, either by desiring lesse, or by desiring more wisely, or at least, by bringing in thy desires at length in some compasse? Nay, nay: thou needest no other punishment then thine own practises. They are thy torment. Poore soule! thou art almost fortie yeares olde, and yet darest thou not take vpo thee the name of a king: when wilt thou bring it to passe? Thinkest thou to make so easily an
ende

end of those which can barre thee from thy vaine hope? For these thirtie yeares men haue lost their labour in making warres against them. I will abate thee ten vpon the bargaine, thou hast yet twentie left. What a king art thou like to be at those yeares ende, being threescore yeares olde? Thou hast beene seene scoffing at the Cardinall of *Bourbon*, to whom thou hadst perswaded to haue beene one of that age: scarce wilt thou come sooner to it, and yet many things ought to come well to passe for you. Thou wilt ouerthrow the king of *Navarre* (a vaine labour, I am sure of, for thee and thy children) dreame rather to saue thy selfe from him: his clawes are greater then thine: but I grant it; thou shalt ouerthrow him: and it were so, how wilt thou doe, that thou maiest raigne? If after his ouerthrow *France* layeth open to the spoile, as it is hard otherwise: art thou stronger then the King of *Spaine*? hast thou more right then hee hath? More then the Duke of *Sauoy*, which is sonne vnto a daughter of *France*, and nearer of bloud then thou, and is married vnto a daughter of *France* now of late? More then the Duke of *Lorraines* sonne thine elder brother? the sonne likewise of a daughter of *France*, and the Kinges Nephew. If contrariwise the estate bee kept whole and sound, how wilt thou take away by a lawfull way, the right from the Catholike Princes of the bloud which shall bee remaining; who are yet in great

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number

number enough, and yoong enough to liue as long as thee, except thou shortnest their liues? Moreouer, besides all this commeth to passe, who can persuade thee, that the king who reigneth now, will not keepe thee from reigning? thou art not able as long as hee shall liue: thy first blowes must light vpon him (that canst thou doo well enough) thou must make him away: for he is tenne thousand more in thy way then the king of *Navarre*, and except this be thy first intent, thou hast iudgement in thy practises. For thou canst not possibly whilest hee is aliue bee a king, neither continue long so, in taking the course that thou doost: but thou purpolest not to reigne. What then poore wretch; except this be it that driueth thee on? except a great ambition dooth pufte vp thy minde, such a one as sometimes possessed either *Marius* or *Sylla*, or *Cesar*, thou shouldest be accursed enough hereafter, for hauing wrought so much mischief in the worlde to no ende. Ambition is the plague of humaine societie: notwithstanding, it hath alwaies most gloriously set forth by many and woorthie deedes all such as haue been possessed with all. Shoulde ambitious men bee euill thought of? nay, they are admired. If thou canst beare so woorthie a minde, as to looke for a kingdome, there will bee founde hereafter some bodie that will saie, that thou wert woorthie

to haue beene borne a king, sith thou couldest vndertake to haue beene one. Such mischieues as thou must needs vse, to bring it to passe, shall not be belike imputed vnto thee: but it shall bee said, that Fortune would by these meanes make thy comming notorious, that needes, thou wart too great to come foorth by an ordinarie gate, and that thou must needs haue ruines to receiue thee and make thee roome: *Nec aliam venturo fata Neroni inuenere viam*. Thou shalt also be found fault withall; but manie that shall finde fault with thee will wish to be like vnto thee: otherwise if vpon a villainous minde thou hast no other end of the euill which thou doest, then to hinder the quietnes of al the world, what wil our posteritie say of thee? who amōgst the wil not call thee the scourge of our age? But seeing thou cāst not be king, thou hast no mind to be it: it is enough for thee to trouble our estate, to the end thou maist keep the better part for thy selfe. Thou shewest thy selfe yet more wretched. Had not God endued thee with sufficient vertue for to deserue an honourable place at their hands, to whom all by right should belong? who would haue ben alwaies glad to haue thee about them as their kinsman, as thou art: & in steed of a good & profitable seruant as thou mightst haue been? Hadst thou not rather haue bin beholding to thy Prince for thy good fare, in bestowing thy seruice vpon thy country, then to a ferrain Prince in ouerthrowing it quite. Marke what thou doost:

thy Father, and thy Graundfather haue allotted vnto the king of *Spaine*, his part in *Italy*; and thou wouldest allot him it in *Fraunce*: *Sic ne patrifas*? Yet all this is not it? The onely zeale vnto the Catholike religion dooth kindle thy hart? Thou saiest it, I beleue in the face of the world, not in thy Closet, nay I am afraide, except thou vset shortly other maner of termes, least thou repentest to haue driuen thy king out of *Paris*. He is not an heretike, no: but he is a king. Whosoever shall be it, either in deede, or possibilitie, he is thine enemy. Thou wilt make it knowne at length, that it is onely for that, that thou medledest with the king of *Nauarre*, and that thou art more gelous ouer his possibilitie then his conscience: I beleue it well. And if so it were that hee would suffer thee to be king, thou wouldest easily graunt him to bee a Hugonot. It is thy zeale vnto religion, good Lord? What, to encrease it. There are so many Turkes & Sarrafins, which keepe from thee thy kingdome of *Ierusalem*, belonging by inheritance to thy house: why doost thou not rather bende thy practises that way, then vpon the realme of *Fraunce*? To defend it, tush who dealeth with it? who durst saie any thing against the Catholikes. I am then of that minde, that thou shouldest persuaide vs that the wolues ought to take heede lest the sheepe might surpasse them; that Lions were best to mistrust the Deares. Thou saist the verie same.

Where

Where there is one of the religion in *Fraunce*, there are a hundreth Catholikes. If the king of *Nauarre* should take that course, as to persecute them during the kings life, hee should bee euill handled; if after it, he should be euill receiued. Nay, doo not alledge these excuses; men laugh at them. Say onely that thou wouldest reigne; thou wouldest bee king: it is the truest and the best colour of thy Ensigne. I will conclude at length, and I will but reply these two or three words vpon those Letters which thou hast spred abroad. Thou publishest first that thou wart the onely man that didst set forward the voyage of *Guyenne*, (*Id est*, against the king of *Nauarre*) to the which thou hast such a minde. But what needest thou to stirre vp an other? Why goest not thou thy selfe. Seeke out there either a victorie or an honourable death, as the Duke of *Ioyense* did. Make offer vnto the king to go in thine own person. He will take thee at thy word: carry thether all thy friends, all thy forces, he wil encrease them with his owne. Carry thether the fire of warre, seeing it is there that thou shouldest finde thine enemies, but thou shalt finde them indeed. Why doost thou kindle it in *Pycardy*? is there any heretikes also there? That it might please God that *Callis & Bulloine* were as well minded towards the king of *Nauarre*, as thou chargest them withal: thou shouldest be kept wel enough from quarrelling at *Paris*. Thou shouldest haue

worke enough to enclose thy selfe within *Chal-*
lons, and think vpon nothing else but vpon thine
 owne defence. This is the matter. Thou woul-
 dest that the king should leaue in thy handes
 the protection of *Fraunce*, and that he should
 go and make warre in the behalfe of thy quar-
 rell in *Guyenne*, that hee should ouerthrow
 thine enemye the king of *Navarre*, that hee
 should giue order vnto your affaires, to the
 ende, that whilst hee should busie himselfe
 about the beating of a Cottage, thou might-
 est take a good Towne from him, and vpon
 condition, that whensoever hee shoulde re-
 turne, hee should giue thee roome, as often
 as it should please thee. I graunt thee it : it
 is well and wisely considered of thee; but yet
 is hee wiser then thou art, in that hee will
 not do so. Thou saist that the Duke of *Osper-*
non fauoureth the Heretikes : all those that
 barre thee from beeing king, are Heretikes,
 according vnto thy reckoning; or at least, they
 fauour them. There will bee then enough in
 the world, if God will. Thinke this to be most
 sure, that if the same woulde haue had but
 the least intelligence of the worlde with the
 king of *Navarre*; if he had taken in his hands
 one of the best Townes which hee had in his
 power, or helped it neuer so little with
 that commoditie of money that hee might
 haue

haue had, there had nor been roome enough
 in *Fraunce* to haue hidden thee. Thou shouldest
 bee vndone alreadie; nay, vndone without
 anie remedie for it. Giue him thanks
 for thy preservation, which his fidelitie hath
 purchased thee, to the cost of his owne, and
 of his maisters. He is come, saiest thou, to
 seeke quarrels in *Pycardy*, and in *Normandy*.
 What part hast thou in these two Prouinces?
 Of the one, my Lorde the Prince which is
 deceased, was gouernour ouer; in his absence,
 there were Lieutenants from the king: of the
 other, the Dukes of *Ioyense* was the like. Nei-
 ther thou, nor anie of thy kindred haue anie
 right vnto it. But soft, I must needes excuse
 thee: thou wouldest reigne: all is lawfull for
 thee. Thou doost complaine moreouer, that
 there haue beene slaunders spreadde abroad a-
 gainst thee, and thine honour, the which
 thanks bee to God, thou hast put downe by
 this latter fact of thine. Thou art a maruel-
 lous Oratour: surely it is true, thou hast well
 cleared thy selfe. Thou wert accused to haue
 stirred vp the people of certaine Townes of this
 Realme, against such Gouernours as the king
 would haue appointed. Thou hast taken this
 slander away, in raising vp them of *Paris* a-
 gainst the king himselfe. Thou wert blamed
 to haue seised vpon his money at *Challons*,

at *Rheymes*, at *Soyssons*, & euery where that thou
 settst thy foote. Thou hast cleared thy selfe of it,
 in taking that of his own store in his chiefe town.
 Thou wert suspected to haue certaine enterpri-
 ses against the State, & to aspire vnto the crowne,
 and that to that purpose thou hadst alreadie sei-
 sed on some good Townes, which either thou
 or thy partners did hold, to the which the king
 would not haue obeyed. Thou hast driuen away
 this false report, with making thy selfe maister
 of *Paris*, and driuing out of the king, after that
 thou hast forced, killed, and vnarmed his Gard,
 and caused the common people to rise in armes
 against him. So that after this sort thou wipest
 away brauely a theft, with a sacrilege, a murder,
 with a parricide; a sinne, with a crime. Thy sub-
 tletie is too grosse. Thou triumphest, that thou
 durst come with eight Gentlemen within *Paris*,
 a token of thy pure innocency! You tell me great
 newes. Be thou in *Rochell* with all thy new court,
 all thy traine, and all thy Gard: the king of *Na-
 varre* will come in with foure men, and if going
 away, thou doost not flie, he will trouble thee.
 That is easie to bee saide in *Britaine*: but those
 that know that all the kings Councell stand for
 thee, that his mother fauoureth thee, that all the
 pickquarrels, and all the porters of *Paris*, and all
 the common people are at thy becke, they will
 say that thy simplicitie was verie craftie, thy in-
 nocency much suspected. How wilt thou haue

vs to beleue that thou hast trusted so gently vnto the king, seeing that after the League was made, when you made your worthie agreement at S. *Mor*, thou wouldest neuer come to him before that thou wert as strong as hee; seeing that whilest he hath been in his Army against the Reyters, thou neuer hast set thy foote towards him, sauing once when thou hast surprised him, and that but a quarter of an houre. Nay, beleue me; thou art fit to do such feates, but not to excuse them: thou canst better doo the one then the other. It is plaine enough, seeing thou vauntest thy selfe, that thou mightest haue kept in thy king, against his will. Ah! what saiest thou, thou straunger? keepe in a king of *Fraunce*? It is all that *Europe* being confederated were able to doo, it is the enterprise of an Emperour, yet a daungerous one. If thy Graundfather had thought, that thou wouldest euer haue pronounced these words, hee would haue smothered vp thy Father, to let thee from comming into the world; in a peaceable estate, in a quiet Realme, that word onely would haue cost thee thy head. That is likewise the reason whilest thou troublest it. As for the rest of your publike Letter, all the words of it are too plaine, too well set downe to bee founde fault withall. Whilest thou makest a discourse of thy valour, thou shewest what is thine intent better then any man can doo. I will onely take heede of the

ende of it, where thou saist that thou hast seised the *Bastylle*, the *Arsenal*, and other publike places, the kings Coffers and Exchequor, to surrender all againe into his Maiesties hands well pacified, as thou hopest to bring to passe by the Popes intercession, and of the Princes of Christendome; if not, by the same meanes thou wilt trie to reskue the Catholikes out from the persecution of those that are about him, and fauour the Heretikes. What a braue dilemma is this. I beleue, thou meanest not by Pacified, peaceable or appeased, but in such state as that he bee not able to make warre against thee, as you hope to procure by the Forces and helps of *Spaine*, and *Italy*: that is the intercession which thou meanest; and in fine, thou meane and simple subiect declarest warre against thy king. Others endure it, this begins it. If the Emperour that was, had but said so much to his father, all Christendome would haue been vp in Armes, both of one side, and other, vpon this word. If God also stirreth vp his hart, I hope it will be thy last.

FINIS.



